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The whole exhibiting

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and NATURAL HISTORY of most Nations
in the KNOWN WORLD.

Illustrated and adorned with a Variety of genuine Charts,
Maps, Plans, Heads, &c. curiously engraved.

V O L. II.

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The meeting of Moctezuma and Cortes.

A
COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES.



The CONQUEST of MEXICO, by
HERNANDO CORTES.

CHAP. XVI.

His entrance into Mexico and meeting with Motexuma, who afterwards confers with him at his quarters, and grants an audience in the royal palace.

ON the 8th day of November, in the year 1519, early in the morning, the army began its march in the accustomed order, leaving on one side the city of Magiscatzingo, situated on the water, and on the other Cuyoacan, until at length they discovered the great city of Mexico, elevated above the rest with an air of dominion. When they had marched about half way, they were met by above four thousand nobles and officers of the city, who came out to receive them; and, having paid their obedience, advanced again before the troops. At a

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little distance from Mexico was a bulwark of stone, which took up all the breadth of the causeway, upon another part of which were the gates, terminated by a draw-bridge, which, with a second fortification, defended the entrance of the city. As soon as the nobles passed to the other side of the bridge, they fell back, making a lane for the army to march, and then appeared a spacious street of houses uniformly built, the windows and battlements of which were full of spectators, though the street itself was quite empty, by order of Motezuma, who resolved to come and receive Cortes in person, as a mark of particular favour.

The Spaniards had scarce entered the city, when they perceived the first troop of the royal retinue, consisting of two hundred noblemen of Motezuma's family, uniformly clothed, and adorned with great plumes of feathers: they approached in two files, with remarkable silence and composure, without lifting their eyes from the ground, and as they drew near, fell back on each side. Then appeared afar off a larger company, better dressed, in the midst of which was Motezuma, carried on the shoulders of his favourites, in a chair of burnished gold, surrounded with various plumage beautifully arranged. Four persons of distinction held over him a canopy of green feathers, interwoven with ornaments of silver, and he was preceded by three officers with golden rods, which they lifted up from time to time as a signal of the king's approach, that all might prostrate themselves and hide their heads. Cortes dismounted before they met, and Motezuma alighting from his chair at the same time, some Indians went before, spreading carpets, that his sacred feet might not touch the ground. He came forward with a slow and solemn pace, leaning upon his cousins the princes of Iztacpalapa and Tezeuco,

was

was of a good presence, about forty years of age, of a middle stature, and a constitution rather delicate than robust. His nose was aquiline, his complexion remarkably fair among the Indians, his hair reached a little way below his ears, and his eyes were lively, tho' his look seemed majestic and thoughtful. He wore a mantle of the finest cotton, tied carelessly on his shoulders, that covered the greatest part of his body, the end trailing upon the ground, and his robe was in a manner covered with gold, pearls, and precious stones. In lieu of a crown he wore a kind of mitre of light gold, and on his feet were shoes of the same metal, bound with studded straps, that came round part of his leg, like the military sandals of the Romans.

Cortes advanced with becoming haste, and made a profound reverence, which Motezuma returned in the manner of his country, to the astonishment of the Indians, who had never before known such an instance of condescension in any of their princes, much less in their emperor, who would scarcely bend his neck to the gods. Hernan had put over his coat of mail a chain of glass, curiously set together, in imitation of diamonds and emeralds, which he reserved as a present for the first audience; and, being close to the king, he threw it about his neck. The princes who supported him, interposed with some emotion, signifying, that it was not lawful to approach so near the emperor; but Motezuma reprimanded them, and accepted the present as a jewel of inestimable value, in acknowledgment for which, he, with his own hands, put upon Hernan's neck, a very rich ornament of crimson shells, joined together with great art, at every one of which hung four crabs of gold of excellent workmanship. Cortes made a short speech fitted to the occasion, and Motezuma having answered it concisely, com-

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manded one of his supporters to conduct the stranger to his lodging, while he himself leaning on the other, went to his chair, and returned to the palace.

The quarters provided for the Spaniards were in one of the royal houses, built by the father of Motezuma, so large as to lodge the whole army: the walls were of stone, very thick, and flanked with some towers, which rendered it very defensible: some chambers were furnished with cotton hangings, of various colours; the chairs were of wood, each being cut out of one piece; the bedsteads were provided with curtains like pavilions, the bottoms of the beds were of palm-mats, and the bolsters of the same rolled up. Cortes, who entered the quarters a little after twelve at noon, having distributed his guards, and lodged his artillery, found a splendid banquet prepared for him and his captains, and great store of provisions for the soldiers, with many Indians who served them in profound silence and exact order. In the evening he was visited by Motezuma, who came with the same pomp and equipage we have already described, and was received in the principal square of the house, by Hernan, who attended him at the door of his apartment, where he made a profound reverence. Motezuma, taking his seat with an air of majesty, ordered a chair to be brought for Cortes, and the company retiring to one side, he is said to have spoke to this effect:

“ Before you deliver your embassy, illustrious
“ captain and valiant stranger, let you and I lay
“ aside those prejudices we have imbibed of each
“ other, from the misinformation of common re-
“ port. In some places you have been told that I
“ am a god, that my power is invincible, and my
“ riches immense; that my palaces are covered
“ with

“ with gold, and that the earth groans beneath the
“ weight of my treasure: upon other occasions you
“ have heard that I am a tyrant, unjust, insolent,
“ and cruel; but you have been imposed upon by
“ both representations: this arm of flesh and blood
“ shews that I am mortal, and these walls and roofs
“ of stone and lime, demonstrate that my palaces
“ are not made or covered with gold. From these
“ instances you may conclude, that the account of
“ my vices is likewise exaggerated, by the malice
“ of my enemies, and ingratitude of my rebellious
“ subjects. In like manner we have received vari-
“ ous informations of your nature and conduct.
“ Some have affirmed, that you are gods who grasp
“ the thunder, command the elements, and com-
“ pel the wild beasts to obey your directions; others
“ have represented you as proud, vindictive, volup-
“ tuous, and transported with an insatiable thirst
“ after the gold which our country produces: yet
“ now I see I have been alike deceived by these dif-
“ ferent accounts. You are made like other men,
“ tho’ distinguished from us by the peculiarities of
“ your own country. The beasts that obey you
“ are large deer, tamed and trained up to discip-
“ line. Your arms that resemble lightening, I con-
“ ceive to be barrels of metal, and their effect, like
“ that of our sarbacans, proceeds from compressed
“ air striving for a vent: the fire, noise, and smoke
“ are owing to enchantment. I am likewise in-
“ formed by my ambassadors and servants, that you
“ are courteous and religious, and your resentments
“ are founded on reason; that you are valiant and
“ inured to hardships, and, among other virtues,
“ display liberality, which never exists in a cove-
“ tous mind. In a word, we believe that the great
“ prince you obey is descended from Quezalcoal,
“ lord of the seven caves of the Navatlaques, and

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“ lawful king of those seven nations that gave rise
 “ to the Mexican empire: for, from the tradition
 “ of many ages, we know that he departed from
 “ these countries, to conquer new regions in the
 “ east, leaving a promise, that in process of time
 “ his descendants should return, to model our laws
 “ and reform our government. Therefore we have
 “ already determined, that all things shall be done
 “ for the honour of your prince, who is the off-
 “ spring of such an illustrious progenitor.” To this
 harangue, which was uttered with great gravity,
 Cortes replied to this purpose: “ Sir, True it is,
 “ we have heard different accounts of your charac-
 “ ter, which some have vilified, and others extolled:
 “ but, as the Spaniards have penetration enough to
 “ distinguish the colours of discourse, we have giv-
 “ en no credit, either to your rebels or flatterers,
 “ but come into your presence with full assurance
 “ of your being a great and equitable prince. You
 “ justly conclude we are mortal, tho’ more vali-
 “ ant and intelligent than your vassals, because
 “ born in a climate of more powerful influence.
 “ Our beasts are not deer, but of a species more
 “ fierce and generous, inclined to war, and aspir-
 “ ing with a sort of ambition to the glory of their
 “ masters: and, lastly, our arms are made by hu-
 “ man industry, without any mixture or help of
 “ magic, an abominable art which we detest and
 “ abhor. I am come to your majesty, as ambassa-
 “ dor from the most powerful monarch the sun
 “ shines on from his first rising: he desires to be
 “ your friend and confederate; and tho’ he might,
 “ according to the tradition of your own histories,
 “ pretend to be more absolute in these dominions,
 “ he makes use of his authority with a view only
 “ to your own advantage, and to convince you
 “ of your errors in point of religion, which are
 “ altogether dismal and deplorable, inasmuch as
 you

“ you have departed from the worship of the true
 “ God, to pay your adoration to insensible pieces of
 “ wood, the work of your own hands, represent-
 “ ing devils and unclean spirits, to whom you im-
 “ piously and inhumanly sacrifice the blood of your
 “ fellow-creatures.” He added other arguments to
 persuade the Indian emperor to renounce his barba-
 rous idolatry ; and, when he finished his oration,
 Motezuma rising from his seat, “ I accept, (said
 “ he) with all due acknowledgment, the confede-
 “ racy and friendship you propose from the great
 “ descendant of Quezalcoal : but all gods are good,
 “ and yours may be what you say, without offence
 “ to mine. Repose yourselves in the mean time ;
 “ you are in your own house, where you shall be
 “ served with all punctuality and regard.” He then
 ordered some Indians, who attended without, to bring
 in a valuable present for Cortes, consisting of pieces
 of gold, cotton robes, and other curiosities, and at
 the same time distributed some jewels among the
 Spaniards who were present, with an air of chear-
 ful generosity.

Next day, the Spanish general demanded audi-
 ence, which being immediately granted, he put on
 his gayest apparel, without quitting his arms, and
 set out for the palace with Pedro de Alvarado, Gon-
 zalo de Sandoval, Juan Velasquez de Leon, Diego
 de Ordaz, and six or seven favourite soldiers. The
 streets were filled with an innumerable concourse of
 people, who opened with reverence to let them pass ;
 and amidst their acclamations often pronounced the
 word Teule, which in their language signified god,
 an appellation that sounded well in the ears of the
 Spaniards, whose success depended so much upon the
 opinion of the Mexicans. At a considerable dis-
 tance appeared the palace of Motezuma, an immense
 pile, with thirty gates opening to as many different
 streets. The principal front took up one whole

side of a very spacious parade, and was of black, red and white jasper, well polished and skillfully placed: and over the gate, in a large shield, were the arms of Motezuma, exhibiting a griffin with its wings extended, holding a tyger in its talons. As the Spaniards approached this entrance, the Indians who accompanied Cortes walked up to one side of it, and then, retiring with a mysterious motion, formed a semicircle, that they might enter by two and two, for they deemed it irreverent to enter the royal palace in a crowd. After having passed three squares, they came to Motezuma's apartments, which they admired for their largeness and furniture. The floors were covered with mats, the walls with cotton hangings, interwoven with furs of rabbits; and the innermost rooms were adorned with a kind of tapestry made of feathers, beautifully variegated and arranged: the roofs were of cypress, cedar, and other odoriferous woods, ornamented with foliage and relievos; and, tho' the Mexicans knew not the use of nails, the ceilings were contrived in such a manner, that the planks sustained one another. These spacious rooms were filled with officers, who guarded the entrance, according to their rank and quality; and, at the door of the antichamber, waited the nobility and magistrates, who received Cortes with great civility, tho' they detained him until they had taken off their shoes and costly robes, and put on others of less finery; for, they thought it presumptuous to appear in their richest apparel before the king. Motezuma, who appeared standing with all his ensigns of royalty about him, advanced some steps to receive Cortes, who approaching with a low bow, the king laid his hands upon his shoulders, and saluted the rest of the Spaniards with an obliging look; then, seating himself, he desired Cortes and all his attendants to sit, and entered into conversation with great familiarity.

liarity. He asked several questions concerning the nature and politics of the eastern countries, and made very judicious remarks upon the answers of Cortes: then he mentioned the obligation of the Mexicans to the descendant of their first king, and expressed a seeming satisfaction in seeing the prophecy fulfilled in his reign. Cortes industriously turned the discourse upon religion, and in particular exclaimed with such strength of argument against the horrible ceremony of human sacrifices, that the king, partly convinced by his reasons, from that day banished dishes of human flesh from his table; tho' he said it was no cruelty, to offer to the gods prisoners of war already condemned to death. Indeed, he was so devoted to his own religion, and so proud of the worship it enjoined, that in a few days he conducted Cortes and some of his principal officers, with father Bartholome, to the chief temple, that they might be eye-witnesses of its magnificence; but, before they were admitted, he admonished them to behave with decency and respect: then the gates of this spacious edifice were opened, and he himself explained all the particulars of the worship, with so much ceremony and reverential awe, as excited the laughter of the Spaniards. Here Cortes suffering himself to be transported by unseasonable zeal, Permit me, sir, (cried he) to fix the cross of Christ before these images of the devil, and you shall see whether they deserve adoration or contempt. The priests were enraged at this proposal, which also incensed Motezuma, who addressing himself to the Spaniards, observed, that they might have shewn more respect to his person: then he desired they would withdraw; and, following them to the threshold, “ You may return to your house, “ my friends, but I shall stay to ask pardon of my “ gods, for having suffered you to proceed so far.” Yet, blind as he was to his own errors, he never dreamed.

dreamed of tyrannizing over the consciences of other people: on the contrary, he sent his workmen to assist the Spaniards in fitting up a chapel, in which he and his chiefs frequently attended at mass, praising the humanity of the Christian worship.

C H A P. XVII.

Description of the City of Mexico; with an account of the grandeur, wealth and power of the emperor; together with a detail of the Mexican government, religion and police.

THE city of Mexico, which contained sixty thousand families, was divided into two parts, one of which, called Tlatelulco, was the habitation of the meaner sort; whereas the court and nobility resided in the other, known by the appellation of Mexico, which thence extended to the whole. It stood in a spacious plain, surrounded by high rocks and mountains, from which many streams and rivulets, descending into the valley, formed several lakes, and among these two of a larger size, (round which were fifty towns) extending about thirty leagues in circumference, and communicating with each other through openings left in a stone wall that divided them. Over these were wooden bridges, with sluices on each side, to supply the lower lake with the redundancy of the other: the water of the uppermost was clear and sweet, but that of the lower lake was salt like the sea; and this saltness proceeded from the nature of the soil, which contained a great quantity of that principle, which proved very advantageous to the inhabitants bordering upon the lake.

In the middle of this salt lake stood the city of Mexico, in nineteen degrees and thirteen minutes north latitude; yet, the climate was mild and healthy:

healthy : for, the natural moisture of the situation was corrected by seasonable breezes of wind. It was joined to the main land, by three sumptuous dikes or causeways ; the streets were large and straight, and there was a great number of canals for the convenience of water-carriage, in canoes and barks of different sizes, of which vessels, above fifty thousand belonged to the city. All the public edifices and houses of the nobility were built of stone, and even the habitations of the lower sort, tho' more mean and unequal, were, as well as the others, laid out in such a manner as to form several parades, in which their merchandize was exposed. The square of Tlatelulco, in which they kept fairs, on certain days of the year, tho' one of the largest in the world, was on such occasions, quite filled with tents, containing a variety of goods, and covered with coarse cotton cloth, which was proof against sun and rain. Here, they sold, by barter, jewels, chains of gold, and different utensils of silver curiously wrought, together with paintings, landscapes made of feathers beautifully arranged, different sorts of cloth, drinking cups of a kind of porcelain, fruit, fish, and all manner of provisions. Maiz or cocoa served as money for things of small value ; they had no weights, but a variety of measures ; and, in lieu of numbers, certain characters, by which they adjusted the prices of merchandise. There was an house appointed for the judges of commerce, who decided all differences among the merchants, and these employed inferior officers to maintain justice and good order in the fair.

Their temples were spacious and stately, particularly that which was dedicated to their god of war, called Vitzliputzli, the supreme of all their deities. The first part of this edifice was a great square, comprehended within a wall of hewn stone,

the outside of which exhibited wreaths of serpents intertwined. At a small distance from the principal gate, was a place of worship, with a flat roof, in which were fixed many large trunks of trees in a row, with holes bored in them at equal distances; through which passed several bars run through the heads of men who had been sacrificed.

In each side of the square, was a gate, over which stood four statues of stone, representing petty gods, to whom the people paid reverence as they entered: and though the habitations of the priests and their servants were built on the inside of this wall, there was room sufficient left, for ten thousand persons to dance in the square, upon their solemn festivals.

In the center stood a lofty tower of stone, furnished with a stair-case, containing one hundred and twenty steps, by which people ascended to the top, which formed a flat pavement forty feet square, beautifully paved with jasper-stones, and surrounded with a kind of balustrade or rails of a serpentine form. On the opening of these rails at the landing place, stood two marble statues well executed, supporting two large candlesticks of an extraordinary make. A little farther was a green stone rising about three feet from the pavement, and terminating in an angle, on which the priests extended the miserable victim, while they opened his breast and plucked out his heart. Beyond this stone, fronting the stair-case, stood a chapel of excellent workmanship, in which the idol was placed upon an high altar shrouded with curtains. It was of a human figure, sitting in a chair sustained by a blue globe furnished with four rods jetting out from the sides, each terminating in the resemblance of a serpent's head, which the priests placed on their shoulders when they exposed the idol to public view. Its head was covered with an helmet, composed of
plumes,

plumes, in form of a bird, with a bill and crest of burnished gold. Its countenance was horrible, the forehead and nose being swathed with bands of a blue colour: in the right hand, it held a curling serpent, and in the other four arrows and a shield, with five white plumes placed in the form of a cross. Concerning which ornaments, the Mexicans related many extravagant legends.

On the left hand of this chapel, was another of the same size and form, made for the idol Tlaloch, who was the supposed brother, friend and colleague of that we have already described; and equally revered by the Mexicans. The ornaments of both chapels were of inestimable value: and there were in the city, eight temples of nearly the same architecture and wealth. Those of a smaller size amounted to two thousand, dedicated to as many idols of different names, forms and attributes.

Besides the palace in which Motezuma kept his court, he had several magnificent pleasure-houses; in one of which, a pompous building supported by pillars of jasper, he kept an aviary of birds, remarkable either for their singing or feathers, so numerous, that above three hundred men were employed in attending them. At a little distance from this, was another vast edifice, where his huntsmen resided and took care of his birds of prey, among which some were bred to the game, like our hawks, and here were eagles of extraordinary size and incredible voracity. In the second square of this house, were entertained his wild beasts, consisting of lions, tygers, bears, and Mexican bulls, which are extremely strong, nimble and ferocious: and over these dens, was a very large apartment for the residence of buffoons and monsters, who were carefully instructed and entertained for the diversion of the king.

Nor was the grandeur of Motezuma less conspicuous in his armories. In one house a number of workmen were employed in making shafts for arrows, grinding flints for the points, and fabricating all sorts of offensive and defensive arms; and in another was the magazine in which they were deposited and curiously disposed, consisting of bows, arrows and quivers, two handed swords edged with flint, darts and javelins, head-pieces, breast-plates, quilted jackets, and bucklers made of impenetrable skins to cover the whole body, and these they carried rolled up on their left shoulders, until they were ready to engage. All these houses were furnished with spacious gardens well cultivated, producing a great variety of fragrant flowers and medicinal herbs set in squares, and adorned with beautiful summer-houses, together with fountains of sweet water, conveyed from the neighbouring mountains.

But, of all Motezuma's works, the most remarkable was his house of sorrow, to which he retired at the death of any favourite relation, or in case of any calamity that required a public demonstration of grief: the place was very well calculated for inspiring horror; the walls, roofs and ornaments were black, and, instead of windows, it was furnished with certain narrow slits which admitted no more light than was sufficient to make the darkness visible, and increase the dreariness of the whole.

Without the city he had divers pleasant country retreats, and large forests for the chase of lions and tygers, in which he greatly delighted. A number of men were employed to surround the game, and contract the circle into a certain space, where he beheld the combats of his huntsmen with the wild beasts; for, in this exercise the Mexicans were equally daring and dextrous. He had two sorts of guards: one of soldiers, so numerous, that they

they filled the courts of the palace, and were posted in bodies at the principal gates; the other of nobles, consisting of two hundred men of distinguished rank, who were obliged to be every day at the palace, to guard his person, and make up the number of his courtiers. This attendance of the nobility was divided between two bodies, that took the duty by turns, comprehending the lords of the whole empire, who were obliged to come to court from the most distant provinces: a scheme contrived by Motezuma, who, by these means, kept the nobility in greater dependance, and became acquainted with their persons, dispositions and capacities.

He had two wives, the daughters of tributary princes, who bore the title of queen, and were lodged in separate apartments, with equal splendour and magnificence: but, the number of his concubines exceeded three thousand, culled from the most beautiful women of his whole dominions. These, when laid aside, found husbands of the first quality; for, they were generally rich, and deemed highly honoured in having been kept by the emperor. He seldom granted audience, and the person who obtained this favour entered barefoot, and made three reverences, saying at the first, "lord," at the second, "my lord," and at the third, "great lord!" On these occasions, he appeared in great state surrounded by his counsellors, listened with attention, answered with severity, and seemed pleased at the confusion of the speaker, which gratified his vanity and pride.

He often ate in public, tho' always alone, with an affectation of solemnity; his table was usually furnished with above two hundred dishes of different meats, some of them very savoury and well seasoned: of these, he chose a certain number for his own use, and ordered the rest to be divided
among

among the nobles of his guard. His table was large, but low, and he sat on a little stool; the cloths and napkins were of fine cotton, and his dining room was divided in the middle by a rail, which, without obstructing the view, kept the croud and his domestics at distance. Within the rails, he was attended by three or four old favourite servants: the dishes were brought in by twenty women, magnificently apparelled, who served his meat and presented him with the cup: and the dishes of fine earthen-ware, as well as the cloths and napkins, being once used, were divided among the servants: he had cups and salvers of gold, and sometimes drank out of cocoa and natural shells, richly set with jewels.

The liquors he drank were of various sorts, some perfumed with the richest odours, others mixed with juice of salutiferous herbs, and a third kind resembling beer made of maiz; nor did he want provocatives to venery, which he took in the form of confections. Immediately after eating, he used to take a frothy kind of chocolate, and used to smok tobacco perfumed with liquid amber: indeed the juice of this herb was one of the ingredients, with which the priests wrought themselves up to fury and enthusiasm, as often as they were obliged to deliver an oracular response. Among other attendants at his table, were generally three or four select buffoons, who diverted him with their ludicrous talents; and after some little repose, he was entertained with music, composed of pipes and sea-shells, accompanied by voices that sung different compositions, forming a concert not at all disagreeable to the ear. The subject was generally the exploits of their ancestors, and the memorable actions of their kings, which the children learned by heart, in order to preserve them from oblivion. They had, besides, merry songs used in dancing, accompanied

accompanied with the music of two little drums, made of hollow pieces of wood, of different size and sound. These were chiefly used in a dance called Mitates, practised at festivals, in which the nobles and plebeians mingled without distinction, gesticulating and shouting, until by drinking to each others health, they were quite intoxicated with that heady liquor already described.

At other times, the people, assembling in the squares and porches of the temples, made matches for shooting at the mark, running races, and wrestling. Here might be seen rope-dancers performing in a surprizing manner, without the assistance of poles, and numbers playing at ball, under the statue of an idol produced by the priests, as superintendant of that diversion. In a word, the town of Mexico was almost every day entertained with some such spectacles or entertainments, calculated by Montezuma to amuse the imaginations of the people, which otherwise might be employed to his prejudice.

The wealth of this emperor, which enabled him to support the expence of his court, and maintain two large armies constantly in the field, arose from the produce of gold and silver mines, the salt-works and other taxes, established from time immemorial, but especially from the contributions levied on the subject, amounting to one third of all that was yearly produced throughout that vast and populous empire. These exactions were collected by officers depending on the tribunal of the royal revenue, that resided in the court, and punished the least fraud or neglect, with the loss of life. All the towns in the neighbourhood of Mexico furnished men for the king's works, and fuel for the palace, or otherwise contributed at the expence of their communities. The tribute of the nobility, consisted in guarding the emperor's person, in serving in his

his armies with a certain number of vassals, and in a number of presents, which, tho' he received them as gifts, they durst not neglect to make. He had different treasurers for the different kinds of contributions; and the tribunal of the crown revenue, having issued out what was necessary for the expence of the palaces and provisions of war, converted the overplus into ingots of gold, to the value of which they were no strangers. Besides this tribunal, there was a council of justice that received appeals from inferior courts, a council of war, and a council of state, together with judges of commerce, and other officers, each of whom carried a staff as a badge of distinction. Their trials were summary and verbal; for, as they had no written laws, they were governed by the customs and institutions of their ancestors. Murder, theft, adultery, or any slight disrespect towards the king or religion, were capital crimes: but, all other misdemeanors were easily pardoned. The children of the plebeians were instructed in public schools; and those of the nobility, in well endowed colleges, under the king's authority, where they learned those rudiments and exercises, which fitted them for the service of the commonwealth, passing through three successive classes; in the first of which, they were taught to decypher the characters and hieroglyphicks, and repeat the historical songs; in the second, they learned modesty, civility, and polite deportment; and, in the third, they were employed in robust exercises, such as carrying weights, wrestling, managing their arms, suffering hunger and thirst, and resisting the inclemencies of the weather. Having gradually acquired these qualifications, the sons of noblemen, designed for war, were sent as volunteers to the army, in order to accustom themselves to the danger and hardships of a campaign, and were often placed among the
baggage-

baggage-men, with a load of provision on their shoulders, that their vanity might be mortified, and their bodies inured to fatigue, before they should be enrolled as soldiers, an honour to which none were admitted, except those who had faced the enemy without change of countenance, and given some other proof of valour and intrepidity. Every town had a regulated militia, so that their armies were formed with ease; for, the princes, caciques, and governors were obliged to repair to the rendezvous, with a certain quota of soldiers; and it is reported as an instance of the grandeur of the Mexican empire, that Motezuma had thirty vassals, each of whom could bring into the field one hundred thousand armed men. Their troops were better disciplined than those of the other Indian nations; and in order to reward acts of valour, the emperor created several orders of knighthood, one of which he himself professed, distinguishing each by a particular badge and denomination.

The Mexican year, like ours, consisted of three hundred and sixty five days, divided into eighteen months, twenty days being assigned to each month, so that the whole amounted to three hundred and sixty; the other five, they added at the end of the year to make it answer the course of the sun. During these, which they looked upon as days designed for pleasure and vacation, they gave themselves up to idleness and pleasure. They had likewise weeks of thirteen days, with different names; and their ages consisted of four weeks of years, distributed in a very artful manner. In the centre of a great circle, divided into fifty two degrees, allowing a year for every degree, they painted the sun, from whose rays proceeded four lines of different colours, equally dividing the circumference, leaving thirteen degrees to each semi-diameter; and these divisions served as signs of their zodiac, upon which

which the ages had their revolutions, and the sun his aspects, prosperous or adverse, according to the colour of the line. In a larger circle inclosing the other, they marked, with their figures and characters, the accidents and chief occurrences of the age : and these secular maps were public instruments, serving for proofs of their history.

The election of the emperor being made, he was obliged to take the field, and obtain some victory over his enemies or revolted subjects, before he was crowned or permitted to ascend the throne ; and proving himself thus qualified by the success of the enterprize, he returned in triumph, and made his public entry with great state and solemnity : all the nobility, ministers and priests accompanied him to the temple of the god of war, where he alighted from his chair, and after having offered the accustomed sacrifice, was clothed in royal robes by the electors, who armed his right hand with a sword of gold, as an ensign of justice, and his left with a bow and arrows, signifying his power and command in war ; then the king of Tezeuco, placed the crown upon his head, by virtue of being first elector. This ceremony being performed, he was harangued by one of the most eloquent magistrates, who congratulated him on his new dignity, in the name of the empire, and expatiated upon the cares and troubles that attend a throne, as well as upon the duty of a sovereign ; then the chief priest approaching, tendered an oath, by which he engaged to maintain the religion of his ancestors, together with the laws and customs of the empire ; to treat his vassals with lenity, to procure seasonable rains, and to prevent inundations, sterility, and the malignant influences of the sun and planets. The Mexicans believed the immortality of the soul, with eternal rewards and punishments in a future state, and buried gold
and

and silver with their dead, to defray the expence of their journey, which they supposed to be long and troublesome: nay, they slew some servants to accompany them, and the wives very often celebrated the exequies of their husbands, by putting themselves to death. Princes were obliged to have monuments of vast extent, for, the greatest part of their riches and family were interred with them; and when the king died, the whole number of household officers and favourites were obliged to attend him to the other world.

Their marriages were celebrated in the following manner. The preliminary contract being settled, the couple appeared in the temple, and the priest having examined them, touching their mutual inclination, tied the tip of the woman's veil and the corner of the bridegroom's garment together, as an emblem of the interior tie of affections, and accompanying them, joined in this manner, to their habitation, they went round the fire seven times, then sat down to receive a share of the heat, and thus they deemed the marriage accomplished. The bride's portion was requested, and the husband obliged to restore it in case of a separation, which was often effected by mutual consent: in that case, the girls remained with the mother, and the boys went with the father; and a marriage being thus dissolved, the parties were forbid to join again on pain of death: a wise institution, that checked the natural levity of that fickle people.

The new-born infants were carried with great solemnity to the temples, where the priests received them with certain admonitions, touching the troubles to which they were born: if they were the sons of nobles, they put a sword into the child's right hand, and upon his left arm a shield, kept in the temple for that purpose: if of plebeian extraction, they put into their hands mechanical instruments:

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but, the females of both degrees, were presented with a distaff and spindle. This ceremony being performed, they were brought up to the altar, and their privities cut with a thorn or lancet of flint, so as to yield some drops of blood, which was no sooner shed, than they sprinkled them with water, ejaculating certain invocations during this baptism. The Mexicans had also a sort of communion, which the priests administered on certain days of the year, dividing into small bits an idol made of flour and honey, which they called the god of penitence: nor were they without jubilees, processions, offerings of incense, and other forms of divine worship.

C H A P. XVIII.

Cortes receives an alarming letter from Vera Cruz, in consequence of which he assembles a council; the result of it; takes a very bold resolution; seizes Motezuma, who quietly submits; the people's clamors cunningly appeased by Cortes, who endeavours ineffectually the emperor's conversion; the authors of the disturbance at Vera Cruz punished; Motezuma fettered, but freed in a short time.

ALL these circumstances the Spaniards observed with admiration, which, however, they were at pains to conceal; and the Mexicans seemed to vie with each other in expressions of regard for their guests. They were every day regaled with some new diversion, at which Motezuma appeared in person, contrary to his former haughtiness and reserve; and this condescension inspired the people with the greater reverence and esteem for the strangers. He seemed particularly fond of Cortes, with whom he spent a great part of his time, and contracted an acquaintance with his captains,

captains, to whom he often made presents with great discernment and distinction of merit. In this manner, the Christians for some time enjoyed an agreeable repose, until they were alarmed by a piece of intelligence brought by two Tlascalan soldiers, who had disguised themselves in the habits of Mexicans, and entered the city unperceived. This was no other than a letter from Vera Cruz, containing the following particulars. That some of the Indians in alliance with the Spaniards, having complained to Juan de Escalante, that one of Motezuma's generals called Qualpopoca, had assembled all the Mexican troops upon the frontiers of Zempoalla, and levied contributions upon them with great extortion and cruelty, he, the said Juan de Escalante, had sent deputies to desire the Mexican general to suspend hostilities till further orders should come from court, as it could not be supposed that Motezuma would authorize such violence, at the very time when he entertained the Spaniards, who were the allies of those poor people, with such friendship and hospitality. To this message Qualpopoca made a very insolent reply, which provoked Juan de Escalante to take the field against him, at the head of two thousand Indians and forty Spaniards.

The Mexican general, being informed of his motions, advanced to receive him near a small village, since known by the name of Alonera, and an engagement ensued, in which, after an obstinate dispute, the Mexicans turned their backs and fled with precipitation to the next town, whither they were pursued by Juan de Escalante, tho', by this time, he was almost entirely abandoned by his Indian allies: for, in the beginning of the battle, they had melted away out of fear of the enemy, whose countenance they could not endure. Notwithstanding this desertion, which had not been perceived

perceived by the Mexicans, Escalante followed the pursuit with little more than his small number of Spaniards; and ordering the place of their retreat to be fired in different parts, attacked the troops of Qualpopoca with such resolution that they were entirely dislodged and routed. This victory, however, cost the Spaniards very dear; for Juan de Escalante and seven soldiers were mortally wounded; and of this number the Mexicans carried off Juan de Arguillo, a man of extraordinary stature and strength, who fell valiantly fighting in a place where he could not be succoured.

This account was the subject of the letter which Cortes received from the council of Vera Cruz, who desired he would appoint a successor to their governor, and give directions touching the posture of their affairs.

Hernan was truly afflicted at the loss of Juan de Escalante, and communicated the letter to his captains, desiring each would separately weigh the circumstances of their present situation, and give their opinions freely at their next meeting. Mean while he himself passed the greatest part of the night in revolving schemes for his conduct on this occasion; and, in the morning, sending for some of the most sensible Indians in his army, asked, if they had lately perceived any change in the discourse or behaviour of the Mexicans. They told him, that the nobles seemed to be pensive and mysterious, that they had heard some of the people mention the expediency of breaking down the causeway, and that it was reported, a Spaniard's head had been presented to Motezuma, who viewed with astonishment the largeness and ferocity of the aspect, and ordered it to be immediately concealed. From these circumstances, and especially that of the head, which doubtless belonged to Arguillo, Cortes immediately concluded that the Mexicans were bent upon his destruction,

destruction, and that the plan was authorised by Motezuma; so that assembling forthwith his council, composed of the captains and some favourite soldiers, he imparted the hints he had received from the Indians, and demanded their advice. Some proposed to obtain a passport from Motezuma, and retire openly to the relief of Vera Cruz; others suggested that they should retire privately in the night; but the greatest part was of opinion, that they should continue at Mexico, without pretending to know what had passed at Vera Cruz, until they should find a proper opportunity for retreating with safety. Not one of these schemes however met with the approbation of Cortes, who represented, that nothing could sink them lower in the opinion of the Mexicans, than their demanding a passport to retire from that city, which they had entered in spite of all opposition; and that, if Motezuma really harboured any design to their prejudice, he would grant them safe conduct with a view of lulling them into a blind security, that he might afterwards attack them unawares: the proposal of retreating by stealth, he mentioned as a project equally dangerous and disgraceful, as it would lower them in the esteem of their allies, who would desert them as dastardly fugitives, and perhaps recommend themselves to Motezuma, by joining his forces in order to cut off their retreat. Neither could he see how it would be practicable to stay at Mexico, without taking some resolute step for their safety: he therefore gave it as his opinion, that they should seize the person of Motezuma, and convey him to their own quarters, where he might be detained as an hostage for the sincerity of his people. He said, such a bold action would strike the Mexicans with astonishment and consternation, and aggrandize the character of the Spaniards to such a degree, that they would never dream of combining against them for the fu-

ture, especially when they should know that Cortes had discovered the transactions at Vera Cruz, the account of which (they would believe) must have been communicated by some supernatural intelligence. This proposal he supported with such energy of eloquence, as seemed to inspire the hearers with uncommon spirit and alacrity; so that they unanimously applauded the scheme, and left the management of it entirely to his own discretion.

Having pitched upon the hour when the Spaniards were accustomed to wait upon Motezuma, for the execution of the plan, he ordered his men to arm themselves in the quarters, saddle their horses with great secrecy, and wait without noise for further instructions. Then he occupied all the avenues to the palace with small scattered detachments; and, having directed thirty choice men to follow him at a small distance, went thither, accompanied by Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Juan Velasquez de Leon, Francisco de Lugo, and Alonzo Davila; nor was there any thing suspicious in their appearing with their arms, which they usually carried as a military ornament. Motezuma, according to custom, came out of his apartment in order to receive the visit; his servants, as usual, retired to another part of the palace; and then Cortes, with an air of resentment, began his complaint against the Mexican general, who had attacked his confederates in violation of the peace, murdered a Spaniard in cool blood, and even endeavoured to vindicate his perfidious behaviour, by declaring he had acted in obedience to his majesty's order.

Motezuma changed colour on hearing this charge, which however he denied with marks of confusion: and Cortes pretended to believe him innocent; “Nevertheless (said he) neither the Spaniards, nor your
“own subjects, will be undeceived, after such a de-
“claration

“claration of your general, unless you take some extraordinary step to efface the impression of such a calumny : I am therefore come to beg you will, without any disturbance, repair with us to the Spanish quarters, where you shall be treated with all the reverence and respect due to your majesty, until your character shall be acquitted to the conviction of all mankind.” Motezuma, amazed and incensed at the boldness of the proposal, replied with impatience, that princes of his rank were not accustomed to go tamely to prison, nor would his subjects permit him to forget his dignity so far as to stoop to so base a compliance. Cortes gave him to understand, that provided he would comply, without obliging the Spaniards to forget the respect they had for his person, he should not value the opposition of his subjects. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, he refused to leave his palace ; but, being sensible of the danger to which he was exposed, he offered to send immediately for Quaalpopoca, and deliver him, with all his officers, into the hands of Cortes, and, in the mean time, to send two of his own sons to the Spanish quarters, as hostages for the performance of his promise. But these expedients would not satisfy Hernan, whose captains, suspecting that the delay might be dangerous, began to be clamorous, and, among others, Juan Velasquez de Leon called aloud, “ Since he will not hear reason, let us seize him by force, or kill him on the spot.” Motezuma hearing this exclamation uttered in an angry tone, desired to know the purport of it, and Donna Marina, to whom he addressed himself, took this opportunity of exhorting him earnestly, as his own vassal and subject, to comply without further hesitation, otherwise his life would be in danger. Her representation had such an effect upon him, that he instantly rose from his seat, saying to Cortes, “ I trust myself in your

“ hands; let us go to your quarters: for so the
“ gods have decreed.” Then he ordered his servants to get ready his chair and equipage, telling his ministers, that, for certain reasons of state, he had resolved to pass some days in the Spanish quarters; and commanded the captain of his guard to put himself at the head of a body of troops, with which he should take Quaalpopoca and his officers prisoners, that they might suffer for having invaded Zempoalla. Having given these directions, which were explained by Donna Marina to Cortes and his officers, he quitted the palace with his usual attendants, the Spaniards marching close by his chair on pretence of respect: but, a report being immediately spread, that the strangers had carried off the emperor, the streets were in an instant filled with crowds of people, who rent the air with outcries, throwing themselves on the ground in despair, and shedding floods of tears for their unfortunate prince. In a word, a general insurrection would have certainly ensued, had not Motezuma, with a serenity of countenance, commanded silence, and assured his people, that he was going, of his own accord, to pass a few days with his friends the strangers: and when he reached the quarters, he ordered his guards to disperse the populace, and his ministers to publish that it should be death for any one to occasion the least tumult or disturbance. He behaved very courteously to the Spanish soldiers, who came forth and received him with great respect; and having pitched upon an apartment, at a distance from those possessed by the Spaniards, it was instantly furnished from his wardrobe. Cortes doubled the guards, and posted sentinels at all the avenues, restricting the ministers and courtiers that came to wait upon Motezuma to a certain number, on pretence of keeping his majesty from being crowded; and omitting no precaution which an action of
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that consequence required. At the same time, he preserved all the formalities of decorum, treated him with the same respect he had formerly manifested towards his person; and indeed one would have imagined, from Motezuma's chearful aspect and seeming good humour, that he was perfectly well pleased with his situation. He distributed some jewels among the Spanish officers, and seemed to be perfectly easy in his mind; nor did he ever discover the secret of his confinement to his ministers or servants, either because he was ashamed to reveal his own disgrace, or afraid of his life in case they should make the least disturbance. At first, therefore, the Mexicans believed his retreat was voluntary, because they could not suppose the Spaniards would attempt an action that even exceeded the bounds of their imagination; and when they did discover the truth from the extraordinary vigilance, doubled guards, and martial appearance of the strangers, they were so over-awed by the astonishing boldness of the atchievement, that they durst not venture to take any steps towards the enlargement of their prince.

Notwithstanding his imprisonment, he exercised all the functions of royalty; granted audiences; held councils; and, as usual, regulated the civil, as well as the military government of his kingdoms. His table was supplied from the palace, with extraordinary abundance, that the Spanish soldiers might feast on the superfluity; and he constantly sent delicacies to Cortes and his captains, each of whom he could call by his respective name: nay, he even studied their humours and dispositions, as he occasionally conversed with them, and often seasoned his discourse with pleasantry, in such a manner, however, as not to descend beneath the dignity of his character. All the time which was not dedicated to business, he passed among them; and was

wont to say, he was not himself except in company of these strangers, who vied with each other in demonstrations of respect, and these gave him great satisfaction; for he was extremely jealous of his honour, insomuch that a Spaniard having done something, with a view (as he thought) to affront him, he insisted upon his being turned out of his presence, and desired he might never be employed near his person for the future. Sometimes he play'd with Cortes at tololoque, which is a game performed by tipping down small pins of gold, with little balls of the same metal; and as they play'd for jewels and trinkets, Motezuma distributed his winnings among the Spaniards, and Hernan shared his good fortune among the emperor's inferior officers. During these amusements, he used to rally Pedro de Alvarado for being a partial marker, tho' he expressed uncommon regard for that captain; and, in a word, seemed insensible of the restraint in which he lived: but, notwithstanding his complaisance in other particulars, he baffled all the efforts made by Cortes and Bartholome de Olmedo to detach him from the absurdities of his religion, to which he adhered with all the zeal of an enthusiast.

In about twenty days after his imprisonment, the captain of the guard returned with Qualepopoca and the other officers, who had surrendered themselves quietly at sight of the royal signet, which Motezuma had given to the captor as a mark of authority; and, after they had been brought before the emperor, who spoke to them with reserve, they were delivered into the hands of Cortes, to whom they confessed themselves guilty of having violated the peace of their own accord, as well as of having ordered Arguillo to be put to death in cold blood; till finding the Spanish general determined to inflict the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavoured to save their lives by impeaching the emperor,
whose

whose orders they had obeyed. Cortes, however, affected to treat that impeachment as a malicious aspersion; and, after a formal trial, they were convicted and sentenced to be burnt. But, in order to deter Motezuma from taking any step to prevent their execution, the general thought it was absolutely necessary to take another bold stroke; he therefore went into the presence of that prince, accompanied with Donna Marina and three or four captains, with a common soldier carrying fetters; and, after having saluted him with his usual respect, assumed a peremptory look, while he told him, in an exalted voice, that Qualpopoca and his accomplices had confessed the crimes for which they were condemned to death; but, as they affirmed they had ~~done nothing but by his order, it was~~ highly just and necessary that he should expiate for those strong presumptions by some personal mortification. So saying, he, with an air of authority, commanded the soldier to shackle Motezuma, without suffering any reply; and, leaving him in that condition, gave orders to the guards to deprive him of all communication with his ministers.

Such was the astonishment of the Indian emperor, at seeing himself treated in this ignominious manner, that he could find neither power to resist, nor speech to complain, while his servants, without presuming to speak, threw themselves at his feet, with marks of inexpressible affliction, in order to bear the weight of his fetters. When he recovered from his first amazement, he broke out into a transport of rage, which, however, he soon repressed; and, tho' he believed his life was in danger, he collected his fortitude, and waited his fate with dignity and resignation.

Mean while Cortes, having taken all possible precautions to prevent any disturbance, ordered the Mexican general and his officers to be brought forth

and executed, in presence of an innumerable concourse of people, who beheld this amazing spectacle with silent awe and admiration. Then returning to the emperor's apartment, he told him, with a cheerful countenance and courteous address, that the traitors, who had been so bold as to blemish his majesty's character, had now received condign punishment: and so saying, he himself stooped down, and with his own hands took off the fetters. Motezuma received his liberty with a tumultuous joy, and embraced Cortés two or three times with great affection; then they sat down together, and engaged in the most amicable conversation; during which, the Spanish general gave him to understand, that whenever he pleased he might return to his palace, as the cause of his detention was now removed.

This was a political offer, which he knew the Indian monarch would not embrace, because he had before-hand, by means of Donna Marina, infused into him a firm belief, that if he should quit the Spanish quarters before the departure of Cortés, he would suffer greatly in his reputation, as soon as ever his vassals should know that he had received his liberty from the hand of another. He therefore declined the offer, tho' he would not explain his motive; but, on the contrary, made a merit of his stay, by saying, that as soon as he should return to his palace, his nobility and ministers would press him to take up arms, in order to obtain satisfaction for the injury he had undergone; so that he would remain where he was, out of regard to the Spaniards.

Cortés seemed to acquiesce in this pretence, praised his resolution, and made many acknowledgements for the care he expressed of their safety; and both were very well satisfied with the finesse which they practised on each other.

C H A P. XIX.

The emperor permitted to visit the temple of the sun ; after which he patiently returns to the Spanish quarters, and seems strongly attached to Cortes ; by whom Gonzalo de Sandoval is appointed governor of Vera Cruz ; two ships built upon the lake ; the working of them strange to the Indians ; some religious disputes ; an ambitious conspiracy set on foot against Cortes ; discovered by Motezuma, and the principal conductor of it secured and punished.

FROM this day Motezuma seemed to be perfectly well satisfied with his situation ; he became courteous and liberal, and his servants and attendants rejoiced in this change of his disposition. At length, when he thought he had given indubitable proofs of his sincerity, he desired that Cortes would allow him to visit his temples, and, at the same time, gave his royal word that he would punctually return to his quarters : and observed, that such an indulgence would redound to the advantage of the Spaniards themselves, as the Mexicans began to surmise that he was detained as a prisoner, and in that belief might raise some dangerous commotion. Cortes, sensible of the truth of what he alledged, assured him that he was at liberty to go abroad whenever he should think proper ; yet he accepted of the promise he made with regard to his returning, because he should be extremely mortified in being deprived of his company.

Tho' the general would not hinder him from visiting his temples, he insisted upon his promise, that no human sacrifice should be performed from that day : and if these impious rites were not entirely abolished, they were at least conducted with such secrecy as screened them effectually from the observa-

tion of the Spaniards. His first excursion was to the principal temple, which he entered with his usual pomp and attendants, and his appearance was celebrated with the loud acclamations of his people, among whom he distributed largesses with uncommon liberality. Having paid his worship to the gods, he returned to the quarters, where he declared, with all the marks of sincerity, that, exclusive of his promise, he would have come back solely to enjoy that satisfaction he had in residing among the strangers.

From this day he continued to go abroad occasionally, according to his own inclination, sometimes to the palace of his wives, and sometimes to pleasure houses, where he enjoyed his amusements; but never without asking leave of Cortes, who generally accompanied him in his parties of diversion, and indeed seemed to engross his favour to such a degree, that the nobles, who had any thing to ask of the emperor, never failed to solicit the interest of the general, in which they always found their account.

Yet, in the midst of this success and seeming tranquillity, Hernan did not neglect those precautions which he deemed necessary for his own security, as well as for the execution of the vast designs he had conceived. He appointed Gonzalo de Sandoval to the government of Vera Cruz, which was vacant by the death of Juan de Escalante; but, as he did not chuse to part with such a valuable captain, he sent, in quality of his lieutenant, a private soldier, called Alonso de Grado, a man of ability, tho' turbulent in his disposition, who had distinguished himself in the past disturbances.

This might have been a very unlucky step, had the vessels which Diego Velasquez fitted out in the prosecution of his old claim, arrived a little sooner on the coast of Vera Cruz. But, the lieutenant be-
haved



The Great Temple of Mexico

Tho. Jefferys Sculp

haved with such insolence and tyranny, that, in a few days after his arrival, complaints were sent against him from the inhabitants and adjacent towns, so that Cortes was obliged to fetch him away prisoner, and indulge them with the governor in person.

The broken expressions which the Tlascalans had overheard, about cutting away the bridges, and ruining the causeways, had made a deep impression upon the mind of the general, and inspired him with the design of making himself master of the lake, by means of two brigantines to be built of the wrecks of the ships which had been bored.

Fraught with this idea, he excited the curiosity of Motezuma, by describing the nature of sailing by the wind, which was utterly unknown to the Mexicans, and obtained his permission to build two vessels on the lake for his majesty's amusement, and the instruction of his subjects. Accordingly the nails, cordage, canvas, and other tackle belonging to the Spanish ships were brought from Vera Cruz, and some builders, who had listed as soldiers, were set at work; together with the carpenters of Mexico, who followed the direction of Cortes and his artists; so that in a few days the brigantines were finished, and Motezuma resolved to embark in person with the Spaniards, that he might have the nearer view of this strange navigation. Great preparations were made for this exhibition.

A vast number of canoes, belonging to the emperor and others, were finely decorated and manned with the most expert rowers; and the Mexicans could not believe but that they should triumph in the trial; but no sooner did the breeze spring up, than the brigantines unfurled their sails, and began to move with such celerity, as soon left all the canoes at a great distance behind, to the inexpressible amazement of the Indians, who could not

comprehend the European manner of steering and working such floating houses, but fairly owned this was an art beyond their capacity, and firmly believed, that by means of these wonderful machines, the Christians could command the elements of wind and water. As for Motezuma, his astonishment was mingled with rapture, and he beheld the victory of the Spaniards with all the delight of a warm partizan, altho' it was obtained over his own subjects.

He became every day more and more attached to Cortes, who having gained this important point of the brigantines, took all opportunities of forwarding the treaty of commerce and alliance which he had projected between Mexico and Spain, and informed himself, without incurring the least suspicion, of the extent, power, riches and produce of this Indian empire: nay, Motezuma himself took pains to make him acquainted with the nature and situation of his country: he ordered his painters to draw an exact representation of all his territories, together with all the bays, harbours and creeks upon the coast, and even permitted some Spaniards to go and examine the most celebrated mines, and take a more accurate survey of the country. The general's pretence for making those minute inquiries was, that he might be able to give his own sovereign a more adequate idea of the grandeur and power of his new ally; and perhaps the Indian emperor gratified his desire from vanity and ostentation.

Some Spanish historians pretend, that even at this juncture, when such harmony ought to have prevailed between the Christians and Motezuma, the soldiers of Cortes resolved to overthrow all the idols of Mexico, and convert the principal temple into a church; that the priests took up arms, and the whole city rose in defence of their gods: that, after

a long contest, which was maintained without bloodshed, the Mexicans agreed that a part of the temple should be converted into a Christian chapel, where an altar was erected, together with the cross of Christ, and an image of the Virgin Mary, and mass was sung with great solemnity: that the priests of the idols took great pains to clean and adorn this chapel, until the Mexicans mutinying for want of rain, they came to Cortes in a tumultuous manner, complaining that their gods had refused to send them refreshing rain, because strange deities were introduced into their temples; and that, in order to appease this disorder, the general promised that they should have a plentiful shower, which actually fell in a few hours, to the unspeakable admiration of Motezuma and his subjects. But, it is not at all probable that Cortes, considering his present precarious situation, would permit his soldiers to engage in an enterprize which could not fail to exasperate the minds of the Indians beyond a possibility of accommodation: and as for the miracle, every sensible reader will regard it as an idle tale of ignorant superstition.

Notwithstanding the great progress the Spanish general had made in the favour of Motezuma, and esteem of the Mexicans, he was now exposed to a danger which had well nigh compleated his ruin. This was a conspiracy formed against him by the emperor's own nephew Cacamazin, king of Tezeuco, and first elector of the empire. He was a young man of great vivacity, art and ambition, who, under pretence of setting Motezuma at liberty, harboured designs upon the throne of Mexico, either by bringing about an immediate revolution, or by securing the popular favour at the next election when the throne should become vacant. With these views, he took all private opportunities of depreciating the conduct, and displaying the pusillanimity,

fillanimity, of his uncle, who tamely submitted to the tyranny of a few insolent strangers; and, at the same time, endeavoured to vilify Cortes and his Spaniards, as an handful of robbers, whose reputation was not built upon their courage and valour, but on the cowardice of those who were afraid to oppose their arms. He enlarged upon their presumption, in countenancing rebels and enemies, whom they had introduced into the bosom of their city, to the indelible reproach of the Mexican name; inveighed against the audacious behaviour of Cortes, who had acted as supreme magistrate in the midst of Mexico, and even put an Indian general to death by a most ignominious execution; and lastly, he reminded them of the shameful state of captivity in which they detained the emperor, to the eternal disgrace of all his nobles and people. By such insinuations he inflamed the minds of some of the first noblemen of the empire; and, at a private assembly, at which were present the kings of Cuyocan, Iztapalapa, Matalcingo, and many other powerful caciques, he explained their grievances in a pathetic harangue, and proposed that they should take arms and suddenly attack the Spaniards in their quarters. The king of Matalcingo, who was also Motezuma's nephew, and plainly perceived the drift of Cacumazin, which interfered with his own pretensions, opposed the execution of this scheme, until they should have first taken some steps to secure the emperor's person, which must be in the most imminent danger from such an attack; and, finding his expedient rejected by the assembly as an impracticable proposal, he is thought to have made Motezuma acquainted with the conspiracy, altho' he seemingly acted in concert with the council, which broke up after they had concerted the enterprize, appointed the day, and recommended to each other the most inviolable secrecy. This plot was no sooner

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er intimated to Motezuma, than he went to communicate the particulars to Cortes, who, by means of his spies, was already informed of the whole. However, he thanked the emperor for this proof of his integrity and concern, and desired his permission to march out with his Spaniards, and chastise the seditious Cacumazin. Motezuma argued against this proposal, as a step which would not only discredit his authority, but also, in all likelihood, produce some new breach between the Christians and his people: he therefore begged the general would leave the punishment of the delinquent to his care, and in a little time took such measures in private, that his rebellious nephew was seized at his own house, and brought prisoner to Mexico, where he was closely confined as a criminal under sentence of death. Yet he was not treated in this manner, until after he had publicly disobeyed the orders of his sovereign, and reviled Cortes in the most insolent and contemptuous manner. At this very period there was a brother of Cacumazin at Mexico, a youth of great courage and expectation, who had a few days before narrowly escaped a snare which his brother had laid for his life, in consequence of some domestic jealousies. Motezuma had taken this young prince into his protection, and even enrolled him in his own family: and Cortes taking the advantage of these circumstances, dissuaded the emperor from putting a prince of the blood to death by a public execution; but counselled him to deprive Cacumazin of his rank and dominions, and give them to his brother, who so well deserved that mark of his indulgence; by which means the traitor would be sufficiently punished, and the kingdom of Tezeuco, together with the dignity of first elector, devolve to the person who had the right of succession.

Motezuma

Motezuma was highly pleased with this advice, which he immediately communicated to the nobles of his council, who applauded it as equally just and merciful ; and, by a royal decree, Cacumazin was dispossessed of all his honours, dignities, and dominions, which were conferred upon his brother, to the satisfaction of all the grandees, and the unspeakable pleasure of the vassals of the family, with whom the young prince was a great favourite. When the emperor bestowed the investiture, with the ceremonies peculiar to the country, he made a pathetic speech to the young king, recommending to him the exercise of justice and benevolence, and in particular gave him to understand, that his good fortune was entirely owing to the advice of the Spanish general.

This manner of chastising without bloodshed, was applauded through the whole empire, and ascribed to the superior judgment and virtue of the Christians, which operated so strongly on the rest of the conspirators, that they dispersed their troops, and had recourse to the clemency of the king, whose pardon they obtained through the intercession of Cortes : so that his reputation was greatly raised by the very means which had been used to effect his ruin.

C H A P. XX.

Moteczuma makes a voluntary offer of becoming tributary to Spain, to which he gains the consent of the states; and confirms it by profuse presents; which Cortes judiciously disposes of: after which Moteczuma insists upon his evacuating Mexico, and Cortes takes proper measures to preserve his posting; but fears fresh troubles from Velasquez; who sends several ships to oppose him.

ALTHOUGH Moteczuma was pleased to see this storm blown over so quietly, certain reflections rankled at his heart, and continually disturbed his repose. He could not help remembering what he had been, and considering his present situation; and these sentiments filled him with grief and mortification. At length, he summoned all his fortitude and recollection, and resolved to free himself of that odious restraint under which he had languished so long. Actuated by this motive, he took a proper opportunity to tell Cortes, that now he intended to make a voluntary acknowledgment of that vassalage which he owed to the king of Spain as successor of Quezalcoal, in a general assembly of his nobles, to be convoked for that purpose; and, as a mark of that vassalage, settle a contribution, in which he himself would take the lead, by presenting the most valuable jewels of his treasury to Don Carlos; and he did not doubt that all his caciques would follow his example, in contributing according to their abilities.

Cortes, who did not perceive his whole aim, thanked him for his liberality, without seeming to be surprized at his proposal, and inwardly rejoiced at the prospect of being able to give his sovereign such important earnest of the wealth he should one day

day reap from this acquisition in point of superiority : for, he was now to be declared lord paramount of the Mexican empire; and Hernan, far from having any intention to depart, thought he could easily keep the footing he had obtained in Mexico, until he should receive orders from Spain.

Motezuma entertained very different sentiments; he concluded, that Cortes could have no pretext for staying, after he should have obtained more than he could reasonably expect; and with that notion, dispatched couriers to convene all the caciques of his empire, according to the custom practised in all cases of emergency. They accordingly assembled with equal splendour and expedition, and the council was held in the king's apartments, in presence of Cortes and his captains, together with their interpreters. Here Motezuma uttered a studied harangue, wherein, after having reminded them of the obligations they owed him as their sovereign and benefactor, and assured them he had consulted and obtained the approbation of the gods, touching the cause of their meeting, he repeated the story and prophecy of Quezalcoal, declared the king of Spain was the descendant and successor of that mighty prince, consequently the rightful lord proprietor of the Mexican empire, to whom he and all of them were bound in duty to yield obedience and acknowledgment; as a mark of which, he had selected the most precious jewels of his treasury, for an offering to the king of Spain, and he did not doubt that they would follow his example in dedicating some part of their riches to the same use.

This discourse he did not pronounce without interruption. He could not help sighing from time to time, and when he owned himself vassal to another prince, the tears trickled down his cheeks, and he could not proceed; until Cortes rising, de-

clared that it was not the intention of his sovereign to dispossess Motezuma, or make the least innovation in his government; but all he desired was, that they would settle his right to the succession, in favour of his descendants. An explanation which encouraged Motezuma, who resumed his tranquillity, and distinctly finished his harangue. The assembly were astonished and confounded at the proposal, which seemed so inconsistent with the dignity and known character of their emperor: they considered it as the effect of compulsion, they groaned bitterly, and gave other marks of anxiety and disturbance, and looked at each other in the most emphatic silence: until his prime minister, who knew his prince's disposition, took upon him to answer in the name of the rest; assuring him, that as all the nobles respected him as their natural lord and sovereign, they should readily obey whatever his majesty should think proper to propose, and follow his example in every thing to the utmost of their power. The whole council signified their assent to this declaration; and Cortes, by the mouth of his interpreter, made an artful speech, in which he gave thanks to Motezuma and all present, for this demonstration of their respect, which he accepted in the name of his king, without seeming to think it strange that they complied with their obligations; but, rather as one who receives a just debt, and is pleased with his debtor's punctuality.

Perhaps Motezuma's whole aim in this transaction, was to forward the departure of his guests, without any intention to fulfil the terms of this submission for the future. Be this as it will, from that day, Charles V. was acknowledged and believed by the people to be the lawful and hereditary lord of the Mexican empire; and their homage was authenticated by a public instrument, according to the custom of the country.

Motezuma

Motezuma having transacted this affair to his liking, resolved to lose no time in retrieving that liberty and independence, for which he had so long sighed in secret. He forthwith delivered to Cortes the present he had provided, consisting of curiosities in gold, in the shapes of animals, birds, and fishes, a great number of precious stones, particularly those called *Chalcuites*, in colour like emeralds, which they esteemed above all others, together with some surprizing pictures made of variegated feathers; in a word, the whole was the ransom of a great prince, who thinks he cannot purchase his liberty at too high a price. The contribution of the nobles was answerable to the liberality of their monarch, and such as might be expected from wealthy chiefs, who vied with each other in loyalty and ostentation. Cortes appointed a receiver and treasurer, to take an exact account of what was delivered, and in a few days, exclusive of jewels, precious stones, and pieces of curious workmanship, they had amassed as much gold as, when melted down, amounted to six hundred thousand pesos in bars of a very good alloy. Out of this treasure, one fifth part was set aside for the king, and one fifth of the remainder for the use of Hernan Cortes, and in order to defray the expence of providing necessaries for the army. Another part was likewise allotted to reimburse Diego Velasquez and Hernan's friends in the island of Cuba, who had supplied him with money for the voyage; and the rest was divided among the officers and soldiers, including those who were at Vera Cruz. Those in the same degree of rank, had equal shares; but, among the private men, those were best rewarded, who had most distinguished themselves in the service. This difference produced murmurs and loud complaints, which, however, were soon silenced

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by the liberality of Cortes, who satisfied the malecontents from his own share of the contribution.

Motezuma having made this substantial acknowledgment of subjection, sent for Cortes, and with a peremptory air of unusual severity, told him, that now he was dispatched, he should think of departing, seeing his further stay would be justly attributed to sinister motives; nor could he any longer support him, when reason was not on his side. The nature of this intimation, and the manner in which he delivered it, was so unexpected, that it was not till after some pause that Cortes could recollect himself so as to make a proper reply. He now, for the first time, perceived the drift of that assembly, which had been convoked; and suspecting that Motezuma might have some forces privately assembled, in order to back this proposal which he had made in such a resolute and even menacing tone, he privately sent one of his captains to order his soldiers to take to their arms; and in the mean time, excused himself for seeming embarrassed at seeing his majesty moved more than ordinary, assuring him, he was so far from intending to protract his departure, that he had come on purpose to beg his permission to build some vessels to transport the Spaniards to their own country, as he well knew they had lost the ships that brought them to the Indian coast.

The emperor is said to have provided fifty thousand men to support his determination; but, certain it is, he was desirous of avoiding a rupture with Cortes, and even very apprehensive of the answer he might receive: for, he no sooner heard this artful reply, which was equally sage and moderate, than he embraced him, with particular marks of affection; and, being now rid of his fears, he told him with the utmost complacency, that it was not his intention to hasten his departure, before

fore he was provided for the voyage ; and that he should be furnished with every thing he wanted, without delay.

He accordingly issued orders for assembling all the carpenters of the country to cut wood, and work under the direction of Cortes and his people : and Hernan, on his part, affected to comply with great alacrity. He dispatched his builders to Vera Cruz, in order to collect the iron-work, rigging, and sails of the vessels which had been sunk ; but, at the same time, gave private directions to Martin Lopez, his master builder, to proceed slowly, and prolong the work as much as he could, without incurring the suspicion of the Mexicans : for, his real design was to maintain his footing at Mexico, until his commissaries should return from Spain, as he expected they would bring him a supply of troops, together with directions for his future conduct.

By these prudent measures, he quieted the minds of Motezuma and his subjects, for the present ; but, in a few days, he had occasion to exert all his discretion and magnanimity. Intelligence was brought to the Indian emperor, that eighteen ships were seen hovering upon the coast of Pilleca, and by the paintings, which were made for the better information of his majesty, and certain characters intermingled with the paintings, those ships were suspected to be manned with Spaniards : a circumstance that could not fail to alarm the whole empire, and revive that suspicion which Cortes had already incurred, and so lately dispelled. Motezuma immediately communicated his intelligence to the Spanish general, telling him that it would be unnecessary to proceed with his building, seeing he might embark in those ships for his own country. Hernan, having surveyed the paintings, was perfectly satisfied of their being Spanish vessels, and supposing

supposing they were come from Spain with a supply of troops and ammunition, answered with great composure, that he would embark immediately, provided those ships were bound back to any of the king of Spain's dominions: but, at the same time, observed that he would not desist from building, until he should be informed of the particulars, by a messenger from Zempoalla, whom he expected every moment.

Such a reasonable reply could not be disagreeable to Motezuma, who seems to have had a real esteem and veneration for Cortes, and to have dreaded nothing so much as a quarrel with the Spaniards: but, Hernan was not a little concerned, when in a few days he received a letter from Gonzalo de Sandoval, importing, that these ships belonged to Diego Velasquez, and contained eight hundred men, who were come to oppose him and his designs in Mexico. This mortifying account was put into his hands, while he was engaged in conversation with Motezuma, and it required all his prudence and resolution to conceal his emotions from the observation of that monarch. However, he succeeded in his endeavours, the emperor suspected nothing of the truth; Hernan even softened the account among his own people, and retired to his own apartment, in order to deliberate upon this unexpected event. But, here a retrospect is necessary, to explain the reception which the commissaries of Cortes found at the court of Spain, as well as the causes that prompted and enabled Velasquez to equip such an armament against him.

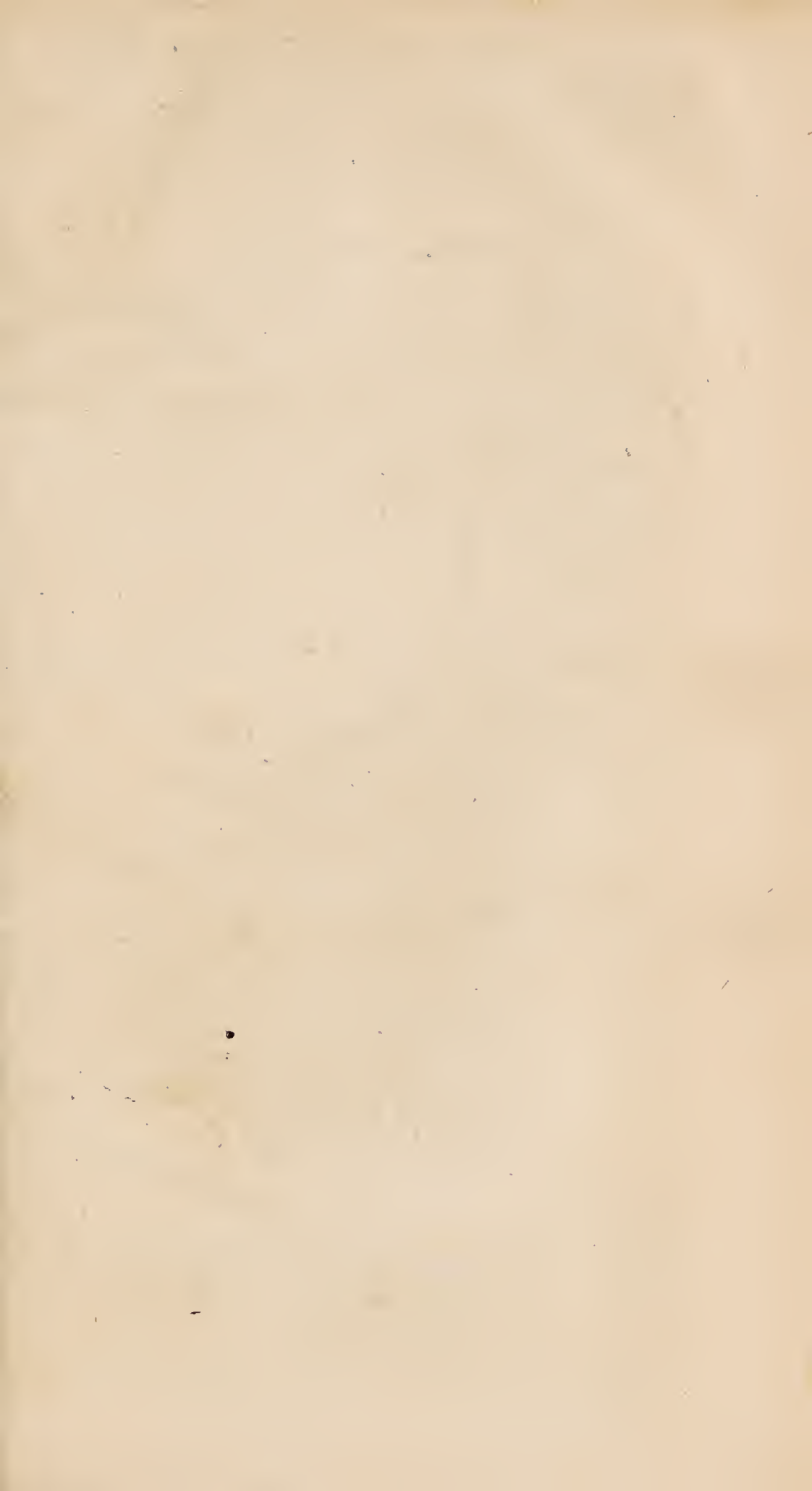
Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero, and Francisco de Montejo, who sailed from Vera Cruz with letters for the king, together with the first tribute of New Spain, touched at the island of Cuba, tho' contrary to the orders they had received, that Francisco de Montejo might have the pleasure of seeing his

his own home, which was near the Havannah, at such a distance from the government of Velasquez, that he thought they ran no risque from his vigilance or resentment. This, however, was a very dangerous step, which had well nigh prevented their voyage to Spain; for, Diego de Velasquez, apprehending that Cortes would send some of his ships to the island of St. Domingo, in order to solicit the succour and protection of the religious governors, had stationed spies all along the coast, to give him intelligence: and being, by these means, made acquainted with what happened at the habitation of Montejo, he immediately dispatched two light vessels, well manned and armed, with orders to take the ship, and every person on board; and these orders were executed with such diligence, that the pilot Alaminos had occasion for all his skill and good fortune to escape the danger by which he was threatened: for, Montejo no sooner re embarked, in consequence of the first notice he received of the governor's design, than this bold mariner ventured to sail through the gulph of Florida, hitherto unattempted, which was the only expedient by which they could possibly elude the pursuit of Velasquez. After a prosperous voyage, they arrived at Sevil in October, tho' at a very unlucky conjuncture; for, the chaplain Benito Martin, whom Velasquez had sent to solicit the commission of king's lieutenant, had obtained his suit, and was now at Sevil, waiting for a vessel, in which he might return to Cuba, whither he had already sent the commission which he had procured. This man represented Cortes in such a disadvantageous light, as a pyrate who had clandestinely carried off the vessels belonging to Velasquez, and the interest of this last was so strong at Sevil, that the directors of the trade, in consequence of his complaint and impeachment, ordered the vessel
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and cargo to be seized, and, as a considerable favour, permitted the envoys of Cortes to resort to the king for redress. Accordingly, the two captains with Alaminos set out for Barcelona, where they expected to find the court; but, understanding his majesty was at Corunna, where he had prepared his navy to pass over into Flanders, in order to accept of the imperial crown, they took the road of Medellen, where they visited Martin Cortes, who received them with equal pleasure and surprize, when he understood the glory and success of his son, whose death he had long deplored; and they persuaded this venerable old gentleman to accompany them to the emperor, in hope that his character and grey hairs would give a sanction to their solicitations. It was their good fortune to overtake the court at Tordesillas, just as the presents from Cortes and the Indians of the new conquest arrived from Sevil; for, these the directors durst not detain, because they were upon the emperor's own account. They met with a very gracious reception from Charles, who expressed his satisfaction and astonishment at their account of this new discovered world, and, in several conferences with the deputies, minutely inquired into every particular of the conquest, while the Indians and presents before his eyes gave as it were a sanction and credit to the wonderful circumstances which they related. But, as his majesty was then on the brink of his departure for Germany, he referred the letters and solicitations of Cortes, to cardinal Adrian and the council, to which he had committed the administration of affairs during his own absence; desiring they would take some method for qualifying matters, so as to do justice to the pretensions of Velasquez, and at the same time encourage the conqueror of Mexico, who had hitherto proceeded with such uncommon spirit and success.

The president of this council, was Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, who greatly favoured Velasquez, and represented Cortes as a rebel and seditious person, upon whom they could have no dependance; however, they did not think it was convenient to give him immediate cause of discontent, nor would they send him any part of the supplies he so earnestly demanded; so that all his deputies obtained was a small share of the cargo they had brought for their subsistence, and they were obliged, for two whole years, to dance attendance at court, like unregarded projectors.

Mean while, Diego Velasquez received his commission of king's lieutenant, not only of Cuba, but likewise of all the lands which should be discovered and conquered through his means. This title, together with assurances of protection from the bishop of Burgos, president of the Indies, at once gratified his ambition and resentment; he resolved to appropriate to himself the glory of conquering Mexico, and to punish Cortes as a rebel and deserter. With these views, he exerted all his influence, and expended the greatest part of his fortune in equipping an armament, consisting of eight hundred Spanish infantry, eighty horse, twelve pieces of cannon, and great store of provision, arms and ammunition. The command of the expedition he bestowed upon Pamphilo de Narvaez, native of Valladolid, a man of distinction and capacity, but of a violent temper, vain, haughty, and bigotted to his own opinions: and this gentleman, with the title of Diego's lieutenant, had private instructions to do his utmost endeavours to apprehend Cortes, and send him over to Cuba in irons, together with his chief officers, provided they should refuse to abandon his interest; and to take possession, in the name of Velasquez, of all
that



Plan of LA VERA CRUZ.

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Explanation

- 1 *Governors Palace*
- 2 *Great Church*
- 3 *Inquisition*
- 4 *Jesuits*
- 5 *Convent of Mercy*
- 6 *Cordeliers*
- 7 *Augustins*
- 8 *Hospitals*
- 9 *The Shambles*

*Island
and Fort of
San Juan de Ulloa*

*Advanced
Fort*

*Galete
Redout*

Mole

Custom House

*Gate of
Mexico*

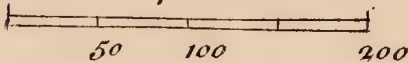
*Magazine of Masts
for the Gallies*

Arsenal House

*Christ
Chapel*

*St. Sebastians
Chapel*

Scale of Fathoms



that had been conquered, because it was within his district, as the king's lieutenant.

C H A P. XXI.

The monk of St. Geronimo vainly endeavours to make Velasquez abandon his project, and have recourse to policy, when elocution fails; Velasquez's agents have very bad success at Vera Cruz, being opposed by the governor; Cortes finds himself in the most perplexing circumstances, but dissembles his concern, and acts with great precaution, while his opponents behave in a very indifferent manner.

THE monks of St. Geronimo, who presided over the royal audience at St. Domingo, and whose jurisdiction extended over the other islands, being informed of these preparations, and foreseeing the bad consequences which might attend such a competition, sent the licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, to dissuade Diego from his enterprize; and, in case other arguments should prove ineffectual, to command him, upon great penalties, to disarm his people, unrig his fleet, and desist from an undertaking which might disturb or impede the measures of Hernan Cortes.

This minister arrived in the island of Cuba, where he found the fleet, consisting of seventeen ships, well manned and just ready to sail; and used all his influence and elocution, to divert Velasquez from his purpose. He expatiated upon the danger to which his people might be exposed, in case Cortes should stand upon the defensive, and avail himself of the allies whom he had made among the natives: he represented the mischief that might ensue to the interest of Spain, should the Indians perceive a civil war among their conquerors: and exhorted to leave his complaints to the

determination of the royal chamber, which would not fail to do him justice in redressing the wrongs he had sustained.

But, finding Velasquez deaf to all remonstrances, and elevated to a degree of insolence and pride by the title which he had acquired, he proceeded to the judicial part of his commission, and caused his orders and protest to be notified by a scrivener, whom he had brought along with him for that purpose. Although he was treated with contempt and indecency in the performance of his duty, he dissembled his resentment, and, pretending to be reconciled to a design he could not prevent, expressed a desire of accompanying the expedition, in order to gratify his own private curiosity.

This request was immediately granted by Diego, who was glad of this opportunity of keeping the fathers of St. Domingo the longer in ignorance of his motions; and the licentiate embarked, in hope of being able, when at a distance from Velasquez, to act as mediator between Narvaez and Hernan Cortes, and prevent the bad consequences of Diego's resentment. With the same view, Andres de Duero, that secretary of Velasquez who had befriended Cortes so much in the beginning of his fortune, likewise engaged in the expedition; and the fleet, sailing with a favourable wind, soon anchored in the port of Ulua. Here Pamphilo de Narvaez sent ashore some soldiers for intelligence, and in a little time they returned with two or three Spaniards, whom they had found straggling about the place. From these he received information of every thing which had happened at Vera Cruz and Mexico, tho', either with design to flatter Narvaez, or in order to gratify their own malice, they affected to lessen the success, and discredit the operations of Cortes.

In consequence of this intelligence, Pamphilo resolved to treat with Gonzalo de Sandoval about the surrendry of the fortress which was under his command, and forthwith sent a clergyman, called Juan Ruis de Guevara, attended by three soldiers and a public notary, to signify his demand, and persuade Sandoval to join the army with his garrison. Gonzalo, who, by his centinels, had been informed of their coming, and was prepared for their reception, recollected all his temper, which was scarce sufficient to restrain him within the bounds of moderation, when Guevara explained his message, and gave him to understand, that Narvaez was come to send Cortes in chains to Cuba. He answered, with great warmth, he could not persuade himself, that Pamphilo de Narvaez, whom he believed to be a good subject, would attempt to interrupt Cortes in a conquest that would redound so much to the advantage of Spain, but rather join him with all his forces, in bringing such a noble scheme to perfection: however, if he was actually determined to offer violence to Hernan, he might be assured, that the garrison of Vera Cruz would oppose him with all their power.

The priest, who was a passionate man, being equally astonished and incensed at this unexpected repulse, broke out into injurious language and threats against Hernan Cortes and all his adherents, whom he upbraided as felons and traitors; and commanded the notary to do his office, in publishing that all the Spaniards in Vera Cruz should pay obedience to Narvaez, on pain of death.

Sandoval having attempted in vain to persuade this indiscreet ecclesiastic, that such violence was equally unjust and unseemly in a person of his profession, at length assumed a peremptory air, and told the notary, he would cause him to be hanged immediately, should he presume to publish any or-

ders that did not come from the king. Nay, he caused the priest and his attendants to be apprehended and sent to Cortes; whom he previously informed of the steps he had taken; then he summoned his Indian allies to his assistance, in case he should be attacked, put his fortress in order, and made all the necessary dispositions for sustaining a siege, like an able and vigilant commander.

It cannot be supposed that Hernan Cortes could receive the account of these transactions without concern. He was indeed agitated with the most violent emotions of anxiety, when he reflected upon the dangerous situation in which he stood between the Mexicans and Narvaez, who were equally his enemies; and, although he imparted his sentiments and apprehensions to his own confidants, whose advice he consulted in all emergencies, he wore an air of tranquillity, in presence of Motezuma, telling him, that those newly arrived were indeed vassals to the king his master, and had brought a second embassy to support the propositions he had already made; that they had brought an army along with them, according to the custom of their country; but, that he would dispose them to return, and even go along with them, seeing his majesty's generosity had left nothing for him or the new comers to desire.

Nor did Cortes confine himself to deliberations only, he resolved, if possible, to effect a reconciliation with Narvaez; but, in case he should prove refractory, he made provision for a rupture, according to his wonted diligence and foresight. He sent a message to his friends the Tlascalans, desiring they would assemble a body of six thousand men for an enterprize, in which he might possibly want their assistance; and he gave private instructions to three or four Spanish soldiers, who were permitted to visit the mines of Chinantla, to persuade the

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caciques.

caciques of that country to levy two thousand soldiers for his service; as they were a warlike people, enemies to the Mexicans, and had already sent private offers of friendship and obedience to the Spaniards. At the same time, he purchased of them three hundred lances made of a very tough wood, and much longer than those used by his own people, these were armed with points of tempered copper, instead of iron, and distributed among his soldiers, as a safeguard from the horse of Narvaez, which gave him no small uneasiness. Mean while, Pedro de Solis arrived from Vera Cruz, with the prisoners sent by Gonzalo de Sandoval, who had been carried in chairs on the shoulders of Indians; and Cortes, having been apprized of their coming, went out to receive them with more than ordinary attendance. He immediately ordered their fetters to be taken off, and embraced them with great hospitality, paying particular civilities to the licentiate Guevara, to whom he said, he would chastise Gonzalo de Sandoval for the little regard he had shewn to his person and dignity. Nay, he conducted him to his own apartment, complimented him with a place at his table, and intimated more than once the greatest satisfaction at the arrival of Narvaez, with whom he had formerly lived in the most intimate friendship. He made him a witness of the favours he received from Motezuma, and the profound respect with which he was treated by the Mexican princes: he presented him with some jewels of value, which greatly allayed the violence of his temper; his companions tasted largely of his bounty; and, without dropping the least hint of his being desirous that they would employ their good offices with Narvaez towards an accommodation, he in four days dispatched them, fully persuaded by his reasons and liberality, and warmly engaged in his interest.

Having dismissed them in this courteous manner, and allowed sufficient time for his wise and politic behaviour to produce the desired effect, he sent friar Bartholome de Olmedo with letters for Narvaez, the licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, and the secretary Andres de Duero; and this envoy was provided with jewels, which he had orders to distribute according to his own sagacity and penetration.

In his letter to Narvaez, after having bid him welcome to the American coast, he gave him an account of the conquest, described the warlike genius of the Indians, together with the power and grandeur of Motezuma; enlarged upon the bad consequences which would infallibly attend any misunderstanding among the Spaniards; reminded him of his duty to the king, and the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them; desired to know his orders, which, if they were from his majesty, he would immediately obey, even tho' they should command him to resign his army, and desist from the enterprize in which he had so far succeeded. But, if he (Narvaez) acted only by virtue of a commission from Velasquez, he would do well to consider what mischief might accrue to the interests of his king and country, from prosecuting the unjust resentment of that governor, whom he was resolved not only to indemnify for the expence of equipping the fleet and armament with which he had arrived, but also to gratify with a share of the glory and advantage of his success: and, lastly, he gave Narvaez to understand, that he did not use arguments because he wanted strength; for, he knew as well how to maintain his own rights, as to propose an equitable accommodation.

Pamphilo de Narvaez had taken up his quarters in Zempoalla, where he was very hospitably received

ceived by the fat cacique, who at first believed he came in order to support and assist his friend Hernan Cortes : but, he was soon undeceived, to his great mortification ; for, although Narvaez had no interpreters, his actions spoke too plain, to the conviction of the Indians : he treated the Zempoallans in the most imperious and oppressive manner, seized upon the furniture and jewels which Cortes had left in his own house, while his soldiers put in practice every act of avarice and rapine.

When the licentiate Guevara arrived from Mexico, and expatiated upon the magnificence of that city, the kind reception he had met with from Cortes, the high degree of favour in which he stood with Motezuma, and his eager desire of living in friendship with Narvaez, that imperious officer interrupted his discourse, by telling him, he might return to Cortes, by whose artifice he had been cajoled, and thrust him from his presence with shocking marks of rudeness and disrespect.

Tho' the priest was repulsed from this quarter, he and his companions did not fail to make strong impressions upon the minds of the soldiers ; among whom they extolled the character of Cortes, in such a manner as not only disposed them to an accommodation with that general, but also inspired them with doubts and prepossessions to the prejudice of their own commander.

Guevara was soon followed by father Bartholome de Olmedo, who having delivered his credentials to Narvaez, could scarce prevail upon him to peruse the contents, which however he superficially glanced over, out of compliment to the person and function of the bearer. In vain did the friar make a very eloquent and pathetic remonstrance, importing the necessity of their acting in concert for the advantage of their country, the interest of which would be betrayed by their animosity ; Nar-

vaez replied with unseemly heat and precipitation, that the principal aim of that armament which he commanded was to chastise Cortes as a rebellious subject; that he would immediately set a price upon his head, and proclaim all his adherents traitors; and that he had sufficient force to wrest the conquest from his hands, without having any occasion to consult those who were the accomplices and abettors of his rebellion. The friar, still preserving his temper, exhorted him to consider well the step he was about to take; he gave him to understand, that, before he could arrive at Mexico, he would be obliged to fight his way through whole provinces of warlike Indians, who were the friends and confederates of Cortes; that Hernan's Spaniards were determined to die by his side, and that his cause would be supported by Motezuma, a prince so powerful that for every single soldier in the army of Narvaez, he was able to raise a numerous army.

Father Bartholome having taken his leave, with a promise of returning for a final answer, proceeded to execute the other part of his commission. He visited the licentiate Lucas Vasquez, and the secretary Andres de Duero, who approved of what he had proposed to Narvaez, and promised to exert all their power and influence in effecting an accommodation. Then the father mingled with the captains and soldiers of his acquaintance, explained the nature of his embassy, represented the necessity of establishing peace between the two commanders, distributed the jewels and other curiosities with great judgment; and, in short, would have soon formed a strong party in favour of Cortes, had not his negotiation been prevented by Pamphilo de Narvaez, who, being informed of his proceedings, ordered him to be brought into his presence, called him

him a mutinous and seditious traitor, reviled him in the most injurious manner, and resolved to secure his person without delay. However, by the mediation of Andres de Duero, he was diverted from his purpose, and ordered the friar to depart immediately from Zempoalla.

The licentiate Lucas Vasquez being informed of what passed, came very seasonably, and proposed that before de Olmedo should be dismissed, the officers might be assembled, in order to deliberate upon a proper answer to Cortes, who seemed so well disposed to peace. Narvaez rejected the proposal with indignation and impatience; and in order to prevent any further altercation, that instant ordered war to be declared against Cortes, as a rebel and traitor to the king, assigned a considerable reward to any person who should take him dead or alive, and commanded the army to prepare for an immediate march.

The licentiate, incensed at this violence and irregularity, commanded the crier to desist, and by his own authority forbade Narvaez to stir a foot from Zempoalla, on pain of death, or employ the forces without the unanimous consent of the whole army. Pamphilo, exasperated at this presumption, caused the licentiate to be apprehended in the most ignominious manner, and sent on board a vessel to be transported to Cuba, without delay. Bartholome de Olmedo returned to Mexico, without any favourable answer: but, the principal officers in the army of Narvaez were scandalized at his rage and insolence; the inferior soldiers became disaffected, and loudly murmured against his conduct, and in proportion to their hatred and contempt of their own general, the character and success of Cortes rose in their estimation. Nay, over and above these causes of dissatisfaction, they had other subject of dis-

gust, in the avarice with which he hoarded up some presents which were sent to him by Motezuma, who expressed his regard for the king of Spain, by his liberality to his officers.

C H A P. XXII.

Velasquez's people prejudiced in favour of Cortes; who is a little startled at a speech of Motezuma, who, however, still gives him stronger proofs of his integrity; he marches against Velasquez's forces; narrowly escapes an ambuscade; and prepares to attack the enemy, who are much disordered by a very violent storm.

HERNAN Cortes found his fears realized, by the account which he received from friar Bartholome, touching the violence and implacability of Narvaez; but, on the other hand, he was greatly comforted, when he understood the disposition of the new-come soldiers, and resolved to take immediate advantage of this favourable circumstance. Having communicated his sentiments to his officers, and maturely considered the inconveniencies which might happen on either side, he, with the approbation of his friends, determined to take the field, with his allies of Tlascala and Chinantla, and then marching towards Zempoalla, to halt in some confederate town, where they might be near at hand to treat of peace, and profit by the disaffection of the soldiers who came with Narvaez. The Spaniards of Mexico no sooner understood this resolution of their general, than they expressed their utmost zeal and impatience to be in action; for, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, they had such confidence in his valour, ability and discretion, that they thought it almost impossible to miscarry under his command.

Hernan,

Hernan, far from damping this their alacrity by unnecessary delay, repaired to the apartment of Moctezuma, in order to signify his intended march : but, he was not a little surprised when that prince anticipated his discourse, by telling him, he had from different parts received information, that the Spanish general residing at Zempoalla came with sinister designs against him and his followers ; and that, tho' he did not wonder that the two chiefs should be enemies to each other from private animosity, he could not help believing, as they were vassals of one prince, and headed armies of contrary factions, that one of them must of necessity be a rebel to his sovereign.

Cortes, tho' not a little startled at this declaration, immediately availed himself of that admirable presence of mind which never forsook him in emergencies, and answered, without hesitation, that the accounts which his majesty had received were undoubtedly true, and he was come to lay the same intelligence before the emperor, as it was now authenticated by the return of de Olmedo : that, nevertheless, Narvaez was not to be considered as a rebel to his king, but rather as a person who proceeded upon wrong principles through mistake ; for, he was come as lieutenant or substitute from a misinformed governor, who, residing in a remote province, was not acquainted with the last resolutions of the court of Spain, and really imagined that the embassy to the emperor of Mexico was an affair belonging to his office : but, that all this misunderstanding would vanish as soon as he (Cortes) could lay before that lieutenant his dispatches, by virtue of which he had full power and jurisdiction over all the Spaniards who should arrive upon the Indian coasts. He had therefore resolved to direct his march immediately to Zempoalla with part of his forces, to dispose the new-comers to return on board their ships, and

and would soon make them sensible, that they are now to respect the subjects of the Mexican empire as a people under the protection of the king of Spain.

The emperor was very well pleased with the prospect of being delivered from such disagreeable visitants, to whose exactions and oppression he was no stranger: but, he looked upon the design of Cortes as a rash undertaking, in which he could not possibly succeed against such powerful odds; and therefore offered to furnish him with an army, which should be entirely at his devotion, and wholly under his command. This offer he repeated with such earnest marks of affectionate concern, that Cortes was fully convinced of his sincerity, tho' he declined the proposal with due acknowledgment, because indeed he had no great confidence in the attachment of the Mexican soldiers.

He resolved to leave fourscore Spaniards in Mexico, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, an excellent officer, a gentleman of good sense, and an accomplished courtier, who, by his engaging behaviour and insinuating carriage, had already acquired a great share of Motezuma's friendship and favour. He had directions from the general to manage the Indian emperor in such a manner, as that he should have no opportunity of holding long conferences with his subjects, and at the same time be insensible of the restriction. The soldiers were ordered to obey their captain, and serve Motezuma with the greatest respect, and exhorted to use their utmost diligence and circumspection in maintaining an amicable correspondence with his family and court: as for the treasure, it was wholly left to the charge and known fidelity of Alvarado.

Cortes, having taken these precautions, dispatched a courier to Gonzalo de Sandoval, with orders to leave the fortress of Vera Cruz to the care of the
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confederate Indians, and march out with his Spaniards to meet the general at a certain place of rendezvous. He then took order for the necessary supplies of provision upon the rout, procured a body of Indians to carry the baggage, and commanded his people to be ready to begin the march in the morning. All the preparations being made for his departure, he went to take his leave of Motezuma, to whose protection he recommended Pedro de Alvarado and the Spaniards he had left; and that prince exhorted him to defer coming to an open rupture with Narvaez, till the arrival of the Mexican succours, which he would not fail to send him in any number he should desire: he gave him his royal word, that he would not forsake Alvarado, nor change his habitation during his absence, and accompanied him a good way out of town with his whole retinue of courtiers.

The Spaniards marched with equal chearfulness and circumspection, like veterans inured to the hardships and stratagems of war, following the road to Cholula, where they were received with great hospitality. From thence they proceeded towards Tlascala; and, at the distance of half a league from that city, they found a splendid appearance of the nobility and whole senate; and their entrance was celebrated with demonstrations of joy and respect, suitable to the laurels they had won from the old inveterate enemies of the republic: nevertheless, they excused themselves from supplying Cortes with the auxiliaries he demanded, upon some pretext, about which the historians are not agreed. He accordingly admitted their excuse: for, certain it is, he left their city without displeasure or complaint, and, in the sequel, had recourse to their assistance and attachment, which never failed him on the most critical occasions. After a short stay in Tlascala, he marched on to Matasquita, a town of Indian friends,

friends, about twelve leagues from Zempoalla, where he was joined by Gonzalo de Sandoval, and an addition of seven soldiers from the army of Narvaez: from these Cortes received information of every thing that had been transacted in the enemy's quarters before they deserted; and he had likewise intelligence of a fresher date, by means of two soldiers who had gone from Vera Cruz to Zempoalla in the disguise of Indians, carrying baskets of fruit, which they trucked with the Spaniards for glass-beads and other toys. On this occasion they affected the simplicity of the natives with such dexterity, that they were allowed to range through every part of the quarters, and make their observations without suspicion: nay, they even ventured to repeat their visit; and, as a proof of the careless watch that was kept by Narvaez, conveyed away from the very parade a horse belonging to captain Salvatierra, one of the bitterest enemies of Cortes.

In order to protract the time, until the Indians from Chinantla should arrive, Hernan sent father Bartholome a second time with proposals for an accommodation; and, he making but small progress, the general dispatched Juan Velasquez de Leon, to use his influence with Narvaez, hoping that his relation to Diego de Velasquez would render his mediation more acceptable. Pamphilo had written to this officer, exhorting him to espouse the cause of his kinsman, and promising him a very advantageous post in his army; and Juan had delivered the letter to Cortes, with repeated protestations of dying by his side rather than desert his colours. This noble manner of proceeding won the confidence of his general, and was an additional motive for sending him upon this negotiation.

When he approached Zempoalla, Narvaez came forth with a grand retinue to receive him, on the supposition that he was come to fight under the
banners

banners of Diego Velasquez; and was not a little mortified to find himself mistaken: however, he used all the arguments his reflection could suggest, in order to detach him from Cortes, and commanded the whole army to be reviewed before him, that he might be an eye-witness of his superior strength. He, next day, invited him to dinner, together with those officers in whom he chiefly confided, that they might assist in persuading him to join their fortune; and, in the beginning of the conversation, he was treated with great civility and compliment: but, in the midst of their festivity, some sarcastic animadversions were uttered against Cortes; and, although his friend at first dissembled his resentment, that he might not prejudice the business in which he was employed, their expressions at last grew so indecent, that he could no longer restrain his indignation, but said aloud, with some warmth, that if any person in that company, who did not esteem Hernan Cortes, and all his followers, as good and loyal subjects to the king of Spain, would signify his sentiments before fewer witnesses, he would undeceive him in what manner he should chuse for his conviction. This declaration, which disconcerted Narvaez, was answered by a young officer of the name and family of Velasquez, who said, no man was worthy of bearing that name, who attempted to vindicate a traitor. Juan, incensed at this reproach, gave him the lie, and drew his sword in order to chastise this young man's insolence; and the company, who interposed, found it a very difficult task to prevent mischief. At length, however, he was prevailed upon to sheath his sword; and returned immediately to Cortes, breathing defiance and revenge.

His abrupt departure, and the cause of it, produced such dissatisfaction and murmurs among the officers and soldiers, that Narvaez, in order to quiet
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their clamour, was fain to appoint a person who should go to Cortes to apologize for what had happened to Juan de Velasquez, and learn the substance of his commission, which had not been fully explained. For this service he pitched upon the secretary Andres de Duero, who met Cortes on his march to an advantageous post nearer the enemy, which he meant to occupy until the arrival of the Chinantecas, and be at hand to act as occasion should require; for by this time all his hopes of accommodation had vanished. Duero and he embraced each other like two intimate friends, who meet after a long separation; and all the officers received the stranger with demonstrations of joy and respect. Before they proceeded to business, Cortes presented him with some valuable jewels; he was regaled with great magnificence and hospitality, and staid till next day, conferring about measures to prevent a rupture, which would be so prejudicial to the interests of Spain. Cortes manifested the greatest temper and moderation, and even offered to relinquish the Mexican conquest to his competitor, while he and his followers should engage in some other expedition. Andres de Duero, struck with this instance of his modesty and self-denial, proposed an interview with Narvaez, not doubting that all their animosities would be surmounted by a personal conference: and Cortes immediately assenting to the proposal, the secretary returned to Zempoalla, where he likewise obtained the consent of Narvaez. The time was appointed and the place assigned, to which both parties agreed by a writing under their hands to come, accompanied by ten friends only, to witness the transactions of the conference. But, before the day of meeting, Cortes received private advice from Duero, that Narvaez had resolved to lay an ambush for his life; and this intelligence being confirmed by others who wished him well, he wrote

a letter to Pamphilo, giving him to understand that he was no stranger to his treacherous design, renouncing all thoughts of accommodation, and remitting his satisfaction and revenge to the edge of the sword.

Having thus given vent to his indignation, he pursued his march, and took his station within a league of Zempoalla, his front being defended by the river of Canoas, and his rear supported by the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz. He posted some sentinels on the other side of the river, detached a number of scouts to observe the country, and quartered his people in a number of cottages, where they were sheltered from the sun, and allowed to take their repose, until he should obtain further intelligence of the enemy's motions.

Narvaez was no sooner informed of this disposition, than he drew out his army into the field, ordered the war to be proclaimed at the head of his troops, and a reward of two thousand pieces of eight to be offered to any person who should bring him the head of Hernan Cortes: and, at the same time, he set a price upon the lives of Gonzalo de Sandoval, and Juan Velasquez de Leon. Then he marched about a quarter of a league to an open field, where he waited for Cortes, vainly imagining that experienced captain would forego the advantages of his situation, in order to engage an enemy who had three times the number of his men. Towards the close of the day, the weather, all of a sudden, grew dark and cloudy, and such a prodigious quantity of rain descended, that the soldiers were instantly wet to the skin, their arms rendered useless, their footing unsure, they cursed the author of their expedition, and, with loud clamour, insisted upon returning immediately to their quarters. Narvaez was obliged to comply with their request, and never dreaming that Cortes would pass the river in such a night,

night, he retreated to Zempoalla with great disorder and confusion. Nevertheless, as he intended to take the field again early in the morning, he would not allow his troops to separate, but lodged them in the principal temple of the city, furnished with three towers, and built upon an eminence, which they ascended by many ill-contrived steps, which rendered it very difficult of access. On the top of these he planted his artillery; he fixed his head-quarters in the middle tower, to which he retired with some officers, and about one hundred soldiers in whom he chiefly confided; the rest of the army was distributed in the other towers: some horse were sent out to patrol in the neighbourhood of the town, and sentinels being placed at the avenues, he went to rest without any farther concern.

Andres de Duero sent instantly one of the men in whom he confided, to apprise Cortes of their retreat, and the manner in which they were disposed; not with any view to encourage him to any immediate undertaking, but merely that he might pass the night in quiet, without any apprehension of being attacked in his quarters.

Hernan, however, no sooner received this information, than he resolved to take advantage of the favourable moment. He instantly revolved his scheme, which at once met with the approbation of his officers; he assembled his people without delay, notwithstanding the continuance of the tempest; and when they had passed the river, with the water above their middle, made a short speech, in which he informed them of the enemy's disorder, described the manner in which they were quartered in the temple; their carelessness and security, and explained the facility of attacking, and routing them in the dark, before they should have time to join, or be drawn up for their defence. This information he mingled with proper incentives, touching the insolence

lence and treachery of Narvaez, as well as the justice of his own cause : so that his soldiers, being fired with resentment, called aloud to him to lead them forthwith to the enemy ; and some of them protested openly, that if ever he should admit another thought of accommodation with Narvaez, they would on the instant withdraw their obedience.

Thus certified of their alacrity and attachment, he formed them into three small battalions, the first of which was commanded by Gonzalo de Sandoval, the second was led by Christoval de Oled, and Cortes took the command of the rest in person. Gonzalo had orders to begin the attack by mounting the stairs, seizing the artillery, and cutting off the communication between the two lateral towers : Christoval was directed to assault the tower in which Narvaez lodged ; and Cortes with his men resolved to second and support both attacks as occasion should require : he likewise gave orders, that, as soon as the action should begin, the drums should beat, and the trumpets with other warlike instruments sound, in order to increase the terror and confusion of the enemy. Father Bartholome, after a pious exhortation, gave them his benediction ; the word was *el Spirito Sancto* ; and the most profound silence being recommended to them, the general began his march at a very slow pace, that they might not be fatigued before they came to action, and that the enemy might at their arrival be lulled in security and sleep.

C H A P. XXIII.

Cortes marches down upon the enemy, who are warned of his approach; and driven from one of their strong holds; while Narvaez their general loses an eye; is taken prisoner, and his army completely routed; whereby Cortes obtains considerable reinforcements; and is better able than ever to pursue his conquests.

HE had not proceeded above half a league, when his scouts returned with a sentinel of Narvaez, whom they had surpris'd, tho' his companion had escaped among the bushes. In consequence of this accident, a short consultation was held among the officers, who were unanimously of opinion, that the soldier, even if he should have discovered their march, would not be so rash as to return by the direct road, but rather take a round-about way to avoid danger; in which case, they, by hastening their march, would probably reach Zempoalla as soon as he: and, tho' they might not find the foe asleep, at least they should have the advantage of attacking them in the disorder of their first waking. They therefore mended their pace, and left their horses, baggage, and other incumbrances by a little brook on the road-side: but, in spite of all the expedition they could use, the sentinel, winged by fear, arriv'd a few minutes before them, and gave the alarm, crying aloud, "The enemy is upon us." He was immediately carried before Narvaez, who slighted his intelligence, holding it impossible that Cortes would presume to attack him with such a small number of men, or even march in such a dark tempestuous night.

Mean while Hernan reached Zempoalla a little after mid-night, without having been discovered by
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the enemy's cavalry, who had either lost their way in the dark, or quitted the road to seek some shelter against the rain: he entered the town, and even came in sight of the temple, without finding any corps de garde, or being challenged by one sentinel, at the very time when the soldier affirmed to Narvaez, that he had seen the vanguard of Cortes and his whole army upon a hasty march. That self-sufficient officer still disbelieved his assertion, while his soldiers, who had taken to their arms, walked backwards and forwards in the porch, still dubious of the truth, tho' prepared in a good measure for whatever should happen.

Cortes soon perceived they had discovered him, and, as there was no time to lose, gave the signal for the attack; in consequence of which, Gonzalo de Sandoval began to mount the stairs, when the people belonging to the artillery who were upon guard fired two or three pieces, and by that alarm confirmed the truth of the soldier's report. The noise of the cannon was immediately succeeded by that of the drums, trumpets, and confused cries of the soldiers, who repaired to the defence of the stairs. The action began with great warmth; the dispute soon came to push of pike, and stroke of sword; and Gonzalo de Sandoval was very hard pressed in attempting to force his way against the disadvantage of the ground, and the superior number of the enemy: but it was not long before Christoval de Oled came to his relief; and Hernan Cortes quitting the rear, threw himself sword in hand into the hottest of the engagement, with such resolution and impetuosity that nothing could withstand him. The enemy, in a few moments, began to give ground, and soon retreated in great disorder, abandoning the porch and artillery. Many fled to their quarters, while others repaired to the gate of the principal tower, where

where the dispute was renewed, and continued some time with great obstinacy.

Pamphilo de Narvaez, having put on his armour, exerted all his endeavours to rally his troops, and with great resolution rushed into the midst of the battle, where his eye being thrust out with a pike, he fell to the ground, exclaiming, "I am a dead man." This accident completed the confusion of his soldiers, some of whom abandoned him shamefully, while others stood like statues, as if they had been thunderstruck, or fought with such disorder and despair, that they were easily routed, and their general taken prisoner. The dispute was now at an end, for want of resistance; for the enemy had shut themselves up in the towers, where they remained in the utmost consternation; and the followers of Cortes proclaimed their victory with loud acclamations, which served to increase the fear of the vanquished. Their terror was also augmented by numerous lights in the country, which, tho' really produced from a kind of glow-worms, exhibited the appearance of arquebusiers with lighted matches, and were supposed to be a body of auxiliaries marching to the assistance of Cortes, so much was their understanding overpowered by the transports of their apprehension.

Hernan, having silenced the shouts of his people, ordered the artillery to be turned against the towers, and a general pardon to be proclaimed for those who would surrender, offering advantageous conditions to such as would engage in his service; and liberty, with a free passage, to those who were desirous of returning to the island of Cuba. This prudent step, which he took in the first tumult of their fear, before they could discern the weakness of his force, or form any distinct plan of defence, was attended by all the success he could desire: for, no sooner were these terms proposed at the three towers, than both

both officers and soldiers came to surrender in whole companies, and laid their arms at the feet of Cortes, who received them with that generous urbanity which was peculiar to his disposition; tho' he took care to have them divided and properly guarded, until day should discover their different countenances and affections. After he had given these necessary directions, he went to visit Narvaez, who had been committed to the care of Gonzalo de Sandoval, and whose wound was already dressed; and that officer seeing him enter the apartment, "Thank God, captain Cortes (said he) for your good fortune in making me your prisoner." "Thanks be to God for all things, friend Narvaez, (he replied) but, vanity apart, I look upon this victory, and your imprisonment, amongst the least considerable actions which have been performed in this country."

Being informed that one of the towers, commanded by Salvatierra and Diego Velasquez the younger, made an obstinate defence, he ordered them to be summoned to surrender, and in case of refusal, threatened with the utmost rigour of war: but they, disregarding his menaces, and declaring they would either hold out to the last, or have the benefit of a capitulation, he commanded two pieces of artillery to be planted against the tower; and, upon the first discharge, the defendants called for quarter, leaving the entrance open to Juan Velasquez de Leon, who entered with a small body, and seized Salvatierra and his namesake, who were the professed and inveterate enemies of Cortes. Thus the victory was completed in favour of Hernan, who lost but four lives in the action; whereas, a captain, an ensign, and fifteen private men of the enemy were killed on the spot, over and above the wounded, which amounted to a considerable number.

Narvaez and Salvatierra were sent under a guard to Vera Cruz, and young Diego remained prisoner with Juan de Velasquez, who treated him with great humanity, notwithstanding the former quarrel which had happened between them. At break of day the two thousand Chinantlans arrived; and tho' they came a little too late, Cortes was glad of their arrival, that his prisoners might see he was not destitute of friends. The vanquished were indeed overwhelmed with shame, when they perceived the small number of men by whom they had been totally defeated: they cursed the carelessness and insolence of Narvaez, and could not help admiring the valour and character of their conqueror, whose banners they became ambitious of following. Cortes had many friends among them, who having founded the sentiments of their fellow-soldiers, set them an example, by desiring to be enlisted in his army; and this example was so eagerly followed, that all the prisoners called aloud to be inrolled; and not one single man expressed the least desire of returning to Cuba. Hernan received them with his usual generosity, and ordered their arms to be restored; a measure which, tho' favouring of temerity, effectually won their hearts, and the more firmly attached them to his interest.

Thus, in a few hours, Cortes, by his admirable conduct, bravery, and vigilance, found himself at the head of above a thousand Spaniards; the only enemies who could give him disturbance, safe in his custody; a fleet of eleven ships and seven brigantines at his disposal; the last effort of Diego de Velasquez entirely frustrated, and his own strength reinforced in such a manner, as enabled him to prosecute his former scheme with a better prospect of success.

The horse of Narvaez, instead of engaging in the action, made their escape into the country, and
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being joined by the patrole, so as make up a troop of forty, pretended to stand upon the defensive; but they were soon brought to reason, and enlisted with Cortes, after the example of their fellow-soldiers. Care being taken of the sick and wounded, Hernan ordered Francisco de Lugo to see the sails, tackling, and rudders of all the vessels brought ashore and laid up in Vera Cruz. The pilots and mariners who came with Narvaez were brought to Zempoalla, and a sufficient number of his own people set to take care of the hulls, under the inspection of Pedro Cavallero.

C H A P. XXIV.

The neighbouring caciques give Cortes fresh assurances of friendship; he resolves to divide his forces, lest their number should give umbrage to Motexuma; but marches to Mexico, and changes his resolution, in consequence of an insurrection in that city against his deputy; he finds the people in a very violent commotion; his troops are vigorously attacked, and all offers of peace rejected.

THEN he dismissed the Chinantlans, with proper acknowledgments; and, during the few days that his army continued in quarters of refreshment, the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, and caciques of the circumjacent country, came to congratulate him upon his success, renew their protestations of obedience, and make fresh offers of their friendship.

Notwithstanding this series of good fortune, Cortes could not be easy in his own mind, while he reflected upon the situation of Pedro d'Alvarado, encompassed with enemies, and at the mercy of a barbarous prince, who might be persuaded by mo-

tives of interest, to sacrifice his honour to the advantage of his empire. He, therefore, resolved to return immediately to Mexico, and that Motezuma or his people might not take umbrage, at seeing him come back with such a numerous body of men, he determined to divide his army, and employ part of his troops in other conquests.

With this view he ordered Juan Velasquez de Leon, with two hundred men, to go and pacify some disturbances in the province of Panuco; Diego de Ordaz was to be sent with the same number to settle the country of Guazacisbalco; so that he himself would have had little more than six hundred Spaniards, who would have been sufficient to dignify his return to Mexico, without arousing the jealousy of the Indians. But this disposition he was obliged to change, in consequence of a letter from Alvarado, who gave him to understand, that in spite of Motezuma, who had never once offered to leave the quarters, the Mexicans had taken up arms against him, and repeated their attacks with such obstinacy, that unless they were immediately succoured, he and all his men must inevitably perish. The soldier who brought this letter, was accompanied by an ambassador from Motezuma, who pressed Cortes to return with all possible expedition, and assured him that he would never abandon Alvarado and the Spaniards, even tho' his own life should be at stake.

Hernan and his officers unanimously agreeing that no time was to be lost, Rodrigo Rangel, a man of approved fidelity, was appointed deputy-governor of Vera Cruz; a garrison was left at Zempoalla, with a sufficient number of men for the security of the vessels; and the army being mustered after these deductions, amounted to one thousand foot, and one hundred horse. Before his departure, Cortes sent an answer to Pedro de Alvarado, and another to

to Motezuma, giving an account of his victory, and assuring them that he would immediately come to their assistance. Accordingly he began his march, the army taking different routes, that they might, as little as possible, incommode the country through which they passed, and be the more easily supplied with provision; and a place of rendezvous was appointed near Tlascala, where they joined, after having sustained much hardship and fatigue; for they had marched with extraordinary diligence. On the 17th day of June he entered Tlascala, with all his troops in good order, and was received with great joy and affection by those faithful allies, who confirmed the account he had received of Alvarado's situation, and dwelt upon some particulars which they exaggerated, on purpose to incense him against the Mexicans whom they detested: nay, in order to complete his vengeance upon those people, whom they wished to see extirpated, the senate proposed to assemble all the troops of the republic for his service; but, as he had no intention to act as minister of their implacable enmity, he declined the offer, and contented himself with a body of two thousand, which in all probability he accepted, that he might not seem to slight their alliance.

Without having met with any sinister incident upon the road, he arrived at Mexico on St. John's day, and passed the lake without the least opposition, tho' he perceived many marks of hostile fury: such as the two Spanish brigantines flayed to pieces and half-burnt; the suburbs and barrier abandoned, the bridges that served for the communication of the streets, broken down; with all which a profound silence prevailed over the city. In consequence of these suspicious symptoms, the infantry were ordered to slacken their pace, and the cavalry to go before and reconnoitre, until the Spaniards in Mexico discovering the army, raised a great shout,

and dissipated their apprehensions. Pedro de Alvarado came down with his people, and received them at the gate of the quarters, where the soldiers and officers embraced each other with the sincerest marks of pleasure and affection; and Motezuma went as far as the outward court to meet Cortes, whom he caressed in a transport of joy, which could not possibly be the effect of dissimulation.

The whole army being quartered within the walls of the palace, proper guards appointed, and centinels placed, Hernan retired with Pedro de Alvarado, to inquire into the cause of that sedition among the Mexicans, by which he had been so much endangered. That officer gave him to understand, that soon after his departure from Mexico, the nobles had behaved with less respect and complaisance than usual; that from the information of a trusty spy, he learned the people were contriving something extraordinary, because they frequently assembled in private; that upon redoubling his diligence, he obtained certain intelligence, that a conspiracy was hatched against the Spaniards, and their intention was to assemble the inhabitants, on pretence of celebrating annual dances called Mitates; on which occasion, the nobles would harangue the multitude, and proceed immediately to the Spanish quarters, in order to extirpate those insolent strangers who kept their monarch prisoner, and treated even their gods with outrage and contempt. On the morning that preceded the appointed day, some of the chief promoters of this sedition came to ask Alvarado's permission to celebrate their festival; but, that very night, he understood, they were busily employed in concealing a considerable quantity of arms in houses near the temple. Then all his doubts vanished, and he resolved to anticipate the execution of their scheme, by assaulting them before they should have time to
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take arms or raise the populace. He accordingly went forth, accompanied by fifty of his men, on pretence of seeing the diversion, and finding them intoxicated with liquor and excess of joy, he attacked and dispersed them without opposition; a good number was killed and wounded in their flight, and these being stripped of their jewels and ornaments by the Spaniards, Alvarado retired without making the people acquainted with the motives of his indignation; so that they imputed the assault to his avarice alone, and the slaughter and pillage of their nobility before their eyes incensed them to such a degree, that they presently ran to arms, and, in a twinkling, a very formidable insurrection ensued. They had made several attacks upon the quarters, and even killed three or four Spaniards; by which exploits, their courage and presumption soared so high, that, far from fearing the resentment of Cortes with his increased army, they had retreated to another part of the town, and left the entrance free, that, after all the Spaniards should be united in one body, they might surround and destroy them at once.

Hernan severely reprehended Alvarado for his rashness and want of consideration, in leaving the quarters, and hazarding himself and his people, when the city was in such commotion; and above all, for his having concealed from Motezuma the first intelligence he had received: he likewise blamed him for his inadvertency, in retiring without having explained to the populace the cause of such a violent assault; and Alvarado was so well convinced of his own indiscretion, that he desired he might be imprisoned, with a view to appease their clamours, and facilitate the reduction of the enraged multitude.

They attempted nothing that whole night, and the same mysterious silence prevailing next morning,

Cortes ordered Diego de Ordaz, at the head of four hundred Spanish and Tlascalcan soldiers, to reconnoitre the principal streets, and, if possible, dive into their designs. He had not proceeded far, when he discovered a body of armed men, detached on purpose to decoy and draw him on; and having advanced a good way, in order to take some prisoners, he was all at once opposed by an innumerable multitude, who marched boldly up to his front; another army, which had been concealed in the cross streets, attacked him in the rear, and all the terraces and windows on each side, were filled with armed men, who showered upon them an infinite quantity of stones and missile weapons.

Diego de Ordaz, finding his retreat cut off, in such a manner that he could not apprize Cortes of his danger, formed a second front with his rear, and ordered his men to employ their pikes and swords against the torrents of enemies below, while his fire-arms were plyed against those above. The heat of the engagement was not of long continuance; for, tho' the Indians advanced with great fury and resolution, their attacks were carried on in such a tumultuous manner, that confusion and disorder immediately ensued, and they soon retired to a distance where they could neither offend nor be offended. The windows and terraces being quickly cleared by the fire arms, Diego de Ordaz thought it was time to retreat, tho' he was beset in such a manner as obliged him to cut his way sword in hand, and, before he could reach the quarters, he and the greatest part of his men were wounded, and seven soldiers left dead upon the spot.

Cortes, found by this experiment, that it was now no time to negotiate, and resolved to make a general sally with the greatest part of his forces, in
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order to compel them, by dint of hostilities, to sue for an accommodation: for, Motezuma was diffident of his own authority, nor had the insurrection any leader of influence, with whom he could enter into a treaty.

Mean while, the Mexicans looking upon the retreat of Diego de Ordaz as a flight, followed him with inconceivable fury and resolution, until the artillery from the quarters made a terrible slaughter; in consequence of which they fell back, tho' they halted in fight, in order to form a new plan, that they might return to the attack with redoubled vigour. All the streets were immediately filled with armed men; their drums and shells sounded the signal for the assault; and they advanced again with great impetuosity, their vanguard being composed of archers to clear the walls, that the rest of the army might approach: and indeed, their discharges were so thick, that the quarters were almost filled with arrows; and the Spaniards obliged to employ a number of hands to remove them, otherwise they would have blocked up the way to the ramparts. While the archers were thus employed, the rest rushed in like a flood, notwithstanding the terrible havock which the cannon and small arms made among them; they even advanced to the very gates, which they endeavoured to demolish with their flinted instruments; some leaped upon the shoulders of their companions, and others made ladders of their lances and pikes, in order to scale the walls or the windows; as one sett were wounded and fell, others supplied their places, trampling upon the bodies of their friends and countrymen, as if they had been strangers to fear or compassion; and, in a word, they fought like savage beasts of prey, when maddened by famine and revenge. Nevertheless, they were at length repulsed, and retired to the cross-streets for cover, till the approach of night, when

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they raised another terrible alarm, by shooting fire-arrows into the quarters, so as to produce a dreadful conflagration in different parts of the building, which obliged the Spaniards to break down walls, in order to prevent the communication of the flames, and afterwards toil, during the greatest part of the night, in repairing the breaches they had made, that they might be in a proper posture of defence.

In the morning, the enemy appeared at a distance, seemingly afraid of advancing within cannon-shot, and provoked the Spaniards with injurious reproaches, to come forth to battle. Cortes, who had been resolved to make a sally, took the opportunity of this provocation, to inflame the minds of his soldiers with a short speech, exhorting them to revenge, and finding them impatient of delay, formed his whole force into three battalions, two of which were ordered to clear the cross-streets, while he himself, at the head of the third, should take the street of Tacuba, where the greatest body of the enemy was posted; and as he laid his account with being attacked in front and rear at the same time, he formed a double front in each division, according to the method followed by Diego de Ordaz in his retreat.

This disposition being made, they sallied forth upon the Mexicans, who sustained the first charge without giving ground, and even fought hand to hand with clubs and two-handed swords, which they managed with desperate fury: nor could the fire-arms, which were levelled at the galleries and windows, prevent the showers of stones and javelins, which fell so thick that it was necessary to set some houses on fire. At last, the Indians gave way, but, as they retreated, they broke down the bridges of the streets, so that the Spaniards were obliged to fill up the ditches, before they could pro-

ecute the victory. While Cortes advanced in this manner, the other two battalions charged the multitude that possessed the streets on the sides, and, by these means, secured a retreat, and drove the enemy in a body before them, until they penetrated as far as the opening into a large square, where the three divisions joined, and the Mexicans betook themselves to flight with the same precipitation which had appeared in their attack.

Cortes would not allow his men to prosecute this victory, but retired without opposition, having lost ten or twelve soldiers in the action, which cost the enemy so dear that the canals of the city were tinged with blood, and the dead bodies lay in incredible heaps, as so many spectacles of horror. During three days, which Hernan allotted for the cure of the wounded, and the refreshment of his troops, he artfully renewed his overtures of peace, by means of some Mexicans, who were in the service of Motezuma, and went out with divers proposals: but they were extremely ill treated by the enemy, and some of them never returned; dreading, perhaps, the risk of being involved in the destruction of the Spaniards, for which they saw such formidable preparations on foot. Nor did Cortes confide so much in his negotiation, as to slacken in his vigilance and precaution. Among other expedients, he contrived four wooden towers to be moved by wheels, each capable of containing twenty or thirty men, who could fight under cover, in firing houses or breaking through the barricadoes which were raised in the principal streets. These machines being finished, he, with the approbation of Motezuma, who wished for nothing so much as the reduction of his rebellious subjects, made a second sally with the major part of the Spaniards, the whole body of Tlascalans, who had done good service in the last engagement, some pieces of ar-

tillery, the wooden towers, and a few led horses, to be used occasionally. The Mexicans, who had augmented their army, which was commanded by the principal nobles, waited for them in profound silence; but, no sooner had the Christians begun their march, than they were surprized with the hoarse and dismal sound of their drums and sea-shells, and the shouts of an innumerable multitude, which advanced with unusual regularity and amazing resolution, giving and receiving the first charges without flinching: nay, when they were obliged to give ground, they retired leisurely, without turning their backs, and, at every canal or barricado, renewed the fight with such obstinacy, that they could not be dislodged without the artillery. They discharged their lances and arrows in a regular manner; some of them swam up and down the canals, seeking opportunities to wound the Spaniards with long pikes; they tumbled down from the galleries and terraces great stones and fragments of rocks, provided for the purpose, by which the moving towers were in a little time shattered to pieces; and, in a word, fought with such method and alacrity, as plainly denoted their attention to the orders of one man, whom they obeyed as their sovereign or general.

C H A P. XXV.

The fight is renewed with greater vigour than ever ; the Indian emperor continues faithful to Cortes, and harangues the Mexicans ; but is wounded by a stone, and expires, conjuring Cortes to avenge his fall ; he is buried by his subjects with great solemnity and lamentations ; a new emperor chosen ; a bold attempt of two Indians upon the person of Cortes, who miraculously escapes the most imminent danger.

THE engagement lasted the greatest part of the day ; great damage was done to the city by burning the houses, and the Mexicans lost an ocean of blood ; but, as the Spaniards and their confederates met with such opposition, and were obliged to dispute the ground by inches from trench to trench, night drew on before Cortes could make much progress, and as he could not pretend to maintain the posts he had gained, he retired to his quarters with the loss of forty men, chiefly Tlascalans ; tho' fifty Spaniards were grievously wounded, and he himself shot with an arrow in the left hand. But, his internal anguish was much more violent than the pain of this external hurt. He considered that notwithstanding the advantage he had over the Mexicans in valour and military skill, his numbers must insensibly diminish, in a series of such victories ; and that, in case of a general revolt against Motezuma, they might easily starve him in his quarters. Nor did the Indian emperor pass the night with more tranquillity : he had, from the highest turret of the palace, observed the battle, in which he could easily distinguish the cacique of Iztapalapa, and other nobles, who might aspire to the empire. He dreaded the loss of his authority, and foreseeing that he could never hope to retrieve
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the submission and obedience of his subjects, while the Spaniards remained in Mexico, he in the morning sent for Cortes, to whom he communicated his sentiments, conjuring him to quit the city, that he might return to his own palace, resume the reins of government, and quell the seditions of his people. Hernan made a virtue of necessity, and assented to the proposal, resolving to retire for the present, that he might have leisure to concert a new plan, and be enabled to execute it with a better prospect of success. But this conference was interrupted by an alarm, in consequence of which, he learned that the enemy was advancing with great fury to make a general attack upon the quarters. Indeed they rushed on with such impetuosity, that notwithstanding the havock made among them by the artillery, small arms, and valour of the defendants, some of them got footing within the very works; so that Hernan was obliged to form a body of reserve in the principal court, from which he sent detachments occasionally, to support those who were hard pressed or fatigued with action. In this emergency, Motezuma proposed that he should shew himself to his vassals from the wall, command the seditious populace to retire, and order the nobles to come unarmed into his presence, that he might know and take measures to redress their grievances. This proposal being approved by Cortes, who hoped that his appearance would at least give the Spaniards some breathing-time, though it might not be attended with any other advantage, the emperor instantly adorned himself with his imperial ensigns, wearing the crown, the mantle, and the jewels, which he displayed upon the most solemn occasions, and mounted the terrace fronting the great avenue, attended by the principal Mexicans who continued in his service. He passed through a lane formed by the garrison, and one of his

his attendants advancing to the rails, called with a loud voice to the rebels, that the great Motezuma had condescended to come forth, in order to hear and redress their grievances. At mention of his name, their outcries instantly ceased; they stood motionless and silent, as if they had been overawed by the presence of something supernatural; and when he appeared, the whole multitude humbled themselves to the earth. He looked around him with an air of majesty, and distinguishing the nobles in the croud, desired them severally by name to approach: then having honoured them with the appellation of friends and kinsmen, he thanked them for the zeal and affection they had expressed for his person, and made a short harangue to the people, representing that they were actuated by a principle of mistaken loyalty; that his residing among the Spaniards was not the effect of compulsion; that he was now resolved to dismiss the strangers from his court; and that he expected his subjects would therefore lay down their arms, in which case he would freely pardon the outrages they already committed.

Such condescension in a prince, whose commands they had been used to obey with fear and trembling, made such impression upon the hearers, that many wept with compassion to see the emperor so humbled; and the rest hung their heads in silence and suspense, when, all of a sudden, this favourable disposition was destroyed, by the murmurs of some emissaries belonging to the prince who was designed as successor to Motezuma. They upbraided this unhappy prince with the epithets of coward, prisoner, and slave, and raised such a clamour among the people, that their compassion was turned into rage; they cursed him with the most opprobrious invectives; his motions with the head and hand were disregarded; his efforts to speak

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were rendered ineffectual by their repeated shouts ; and, at last, they let fly a shower of arrows against him. Two soldiers, who were placed near him, endeavoured to cover him with their bucklers ; but, in spite of all their care, he was wounded in different places, and received upon his temple a terrible blow with a stone, which felled him to the ground. Cortes, whose grief at this accident was inexpressible, caused him to be carried to his apartment, while he himself giving way to the first transports of his indignation, resolved to stay and take vengeance upon the authors of this misfortune. But he found no enemy upon whom he could wreak his resentment ; for, the Mexicans, seeing the emperor fall, were struck with such horror and consternation, that they instantly fled, as if they had thought themselves pursued by the judgment of heaven.

The hapless Motezuma soon recovered his sensation, to feel the keenest pangs of despair. He became frantic with rage, imprecated the most dreadful curses upon his rebellious vassals ; lent a deaf ear to the remonstrances and consolations of the general, who exerted all his eloquence to soothe and comfort his affliction ; and when his wounds were dressed, tore off the dressings, and attempted to put an end to his life ; so that it was necessary to restrain him by force. The wound in his head was of itself very dangerous, but his violent agitation of mind and body soon rendered it mortal ; and he absolutely refused to take any manner of sustenance. Cortes perceiving the emperor's end approaching, conjured him to have some regard to his soul, by renouncing his idolatry, and embracing the true religion ; father Bartholome d' Olmedo employed all his rhetoric to the same purpose, and Donna Marina did all that was in her power to facilitate his conversion. But all their endeavours

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were ineffectual; he continued firm and bigotted to the superstition of his own country, and expired in a delirium of passion, after having conjured the general to revenge his death.

The deplorable fate of Motezuma overwhelmed Cortes with grief and concern, which he could not help manifesting by his tears: he had a sincere affection for that prince, and his whole hope of success centered in his voluntary submission to the king of Spain; so that now he found himself obliged to form a new plan, and quit all the advantages he enjoyed by his influence at the court of Mexico. In this perplexity, the first step he took was to appoint six of Motezuma's principal attendants, (some of whom were priests) to carry out his body to the rebels, and tell the princes who headed them, that he had sent them the corpse of their late sovereign, whom they themselves had murdered; and who, before his death, had conjured him by the most pressing instances, to revenge his wrongs, and chastise them for their abominable rebellion: but, as he supposed the insurrection was owing to the brutal fury of the populace, unapproved by the nobles, he once more proposed peace, and gave them leave to send deputies, assuring them he was ready to accept any reasonable conditions; whereas, should they neglect his proposal, he would treat them as the worst of rebels, and Motezuma being dead, out of respect to whom he had hitherto moderated his resentment, he would lay waste their city, and destroy them with fire and sword.

At a small distance from the quarters, the bearers of the corpse were met by a body of the inhabitants, who threw down their arms and followed this venerable burthen with marks of the most profound reverence and respect. All the posts were abandoned, the city was filled with outcries and lamentations;

tations; and tho' they had already elected another emperor, they did not fail to testify their penitence by the most violent expressions of sorrow, repeating the name of Motezuma, and running up and down the streets in clamorous tumults, which did not subside till morning, when they conveyed him to the mountain of Chapultepeque, and there performed his obsequies with great solemnity and uncommon signs of contrition.

Thus fell Motezuma, the most powerful emperor who had ever sat upon the Mexican throne; he reigned seventeen years, was the eleventh in the number of emperors, and second of the name. He left four sons and three daughters; two of the former, who lived with their father in his confinement, were killed by the Mexicans in the retreat of Cortes: the ladies were afterwards converted, and married to Spaniards. But the most illustrious of all his descendants was his son, who, at his baptism, took the name of Don Pedro de Motezuma, and received many favours from his majesty, who not only gave him considerable possessions in New Spain, but also honoured him with the title of Count de Motezuma, which is still preserved by his posterity.

During the last illness of the emperor, the Mexicans made no attempt upon the Spanish quarters; a cessation which Cortes attributed to the conscious horror of the crime they had committed: tho', in fact, it was owing to the avocation of their leaders and nobility, who were wholly ingrossed by the inauguration of Quilayaca, cacique of Iztapalapa, whom they had raised to the throne of Mexico: this prince, however, did not many days survive his exaltation, and his memory is almost forgot among the Indians of that country.

Instead of listening to the proposals sent by the servants of Motezuma, the Mexicans renewed the
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war with greater vigour than they had ever exerted. On the morning that succeeded the funeral of their late emperor, all the streets were, by break of day, filled with armed men, and they had garrisoned the towers of a temple which overlooked and commanded part of the Spanish quarters. This important post, which was defended by five hundred chosen men of the nobility, Cortes resolved to carry at all events. He drew the greatest part of his strength without the wall, and having formed a number of battalions sufficient to cut off all communication between those who were in the towers and the rest of the Indians, he ordered captain Escobar, with his company reinforced by one hundred Spaniards, to attack the temple, which was of difficult access. This officer was permitted to reach the lower porch, without opposition; but, all at once, the defendants, from the upper porch, made such a terrible discharge of arrows, lances, huge stones, and half-burnt beams of timber, provided for the occasion, that the assailants were put in disorder, and, after having returned three times to the attack, obliged to retreat in confusion.

Cortes, who with a troop of horse was employed in supporting those who needed his assistance, no sooner beheld the discomfiture of Escobar, than he flew to his succour. Having quitted his horse, he caused a shield to be fastened to his wounded arm, and unsheathing his sword, advanced to the stairs with such intrepidity as inspired his followers with ambition to imitate his glorious example. The action was instantly renewed with amazing obstinacy. The defendants fought hand to hand, like men determined to die rather than surrender: the very priests fell valiantly fighting and exhorting in the name of their gods; and though the valour of Cortes and his followers was irresistible, the Mexicans suffered themselves to be cut in pieces to
a man,

a man, before the Christians could obtain possession of the post, which was gained, however, without the loss of one Spanish soldier, tho' many were wounded. In the heat of this engagement, two Indians, who had devoted their lives to the service of their country, seeing the general upon the top of the temple, threw down their arms, and approached him like suppliants, then starting up and seizing him with great violence, endeavoured to push him over the rails; but, finding they could not accomplish their aim, as he disengaged himself with some difficulty, they threw themselves headlong from the tower, and dashed their brains out against the pavement.

The general ordered a considerable quantity of provision, which was found in this temple, to be conveyed to the quarters; then he commanded the Tlascalans to set fire to the building and several other houses, so as that the artillery might command the whole eminence: and taking a view of the engagement below, he perceived the Spaniards very warmly charged in the street of Tacuba, which they defended with great difficulty. He forthwith mounted his horse and hastened to their assistance, after having ordered Escobar, with his men, to follow with all possible expedition. Mean while, he attacked the multitude at the head of his cavalry, wounding, killing, or trampling under foot, all that stood in his way: but, yielding too much to the impetuosity of his own courage, he advanced into the crowd so far before the rest of his troops, that his retreat was effectually cut off, and riding into another street, where he hoped to meet with less resistance, he fell in among a body of Mexicans, who had taken his friend Andres de Duero, in consequence of his horse's having stumbled; and were conveying him alive as a sacrifice to their gods. Cortes instantly charged them with inconceivable

ceivable fury, so as to disorder the whole convoy, and Duero taking this opportunity of their confusion, and drawing a poignard which they had overlooked when they disarmed him, disengaged himself by the death of those who held him; then recovering his horse and lance, the two friends broke through all opposition, at a full gallop, and effected a most miraculous retreat.

The Mexicans now retired on all sides with great precipitation, and the general withdrew his men into the quarters, after they had made dreadful havoc among the enemy, and burned a good part of the city; and what contributed to the purer enjoyment of the victory, they had not lost one man during the whole engagement: tho' the Mexicans, in painting this day's exploit, which they considered as one of the most remarkable actions of Cortes, represented several Spaniards precipitated from the towers of the temple, and several lying dead and wounded below: an instance of that partiality which is found in the historians of almost every nation under the sun.

C H A P. XXVI.

The Indians every where defeated; have recourse to stratagem on the failure of force; but Cortes prepares to counteract them; and evacuates Mexico, with his army by night, he is assaulted in his retreat, loses a great many men, and all his prisoners, and is engaged in many dangerous skirmishes; but at length obtains a precise victory, by seizing the royal standard of Mexico.

NEXT day, the enemy demanded a parley, which being granted by Cortes, some of the nobles approached the walls, and proposed from the new emperor, that the Spaniards should immediately march down to the sea-side, and embark in their large canoes; in which case, there would be a cessation from all hostilities: but, should this proposal be rejected, every soul of them must inevitably perish; for the Mexicans were now convinced by experience that the Spaniards were mortal, and tho' the death of every Christian should cost them twenty thousand lives, they were resolved to continue their attacks, and would have a number of men, at last, sufficient to rejoice at their success.

Cortes replied, that the Spaniards never pretended to be immortal; tho' they were so much superior to the Mexicans in courage and all other respects, that, with his handful of men, he durst undertake the destruction of their whole empire: but, being moved with the calamities they had already suffered through their own obstinacy, he was determined to depart, especially since his business was at an end, by the death of Motezuma, whose friendship and bounty had detained him at Mexico; and that he only waited until the necessary preparations could
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be made for his march, and other articles agreed upon, for the advantage and satisfaction of both parties.

The deputies seemed to be very well pleased with this answer, tho' the overtures they had made were calculated for a very perfidious purpose. In a word, it had been agreed, in the council of the new emperor, to distress the Spaniards by famine, and rather than expose themselves to such terrible slaughter as they had always suffered from the artillery and fire-arms, amuse the Christians with negotiation, until they should be weakened and dispirited by hunger, when they could fall upon them with more advantage. They recollected that three sons of Motezuma, and other persons of distinction, were prisoners in the Spanish quarters; but all these they willingly devoted as sacrifices to the good of their country, except their chief priest, whom they revered as the second person in the empire, and resolved, if possible, to deliver.

For this purpose, the deputies returned that same evening, to propose that some of the Mexican prisoners should be sent to the emperor with instructions touching the capitulation, that there might be no misunderstanding in the case; and artfully hinted that no body was so proper as a certain ancient priest, who, being an intelligent man, would be able to explain all doubts, and remove whatever difficulties might be started. The general perceived their drift, but concealed his suspicion, that he might be more fully certified of their real designs; and he was not at all sorry to part with an old wicked idolater, whose person and principles he abhorred. He therefore assented to the proposal, and made the priest acquainted with his demands, touching the necessaries he should want for his march; resolving, should he really return, to explain himself by some additional stipulations, importing that they
should

should lay down their arms and deliver hostages ; with other matters of greater consequence. But they had no intention to send him back, or to agree to any pacific convention ; on the contrary, the sentinels discovered that the enemy were busily employed in casting up trenches and works to defend the passage of the canals, and had detached some bodies of men to the lake, in order to break down the bridges of the principal causey, and cut off all communication with the road leading to Tlascala. Cortes, alarmed at this intelligence, ordered his men to make a pontoon or bridge of boards for those openings, strong enough to bear the weight of the artillery, and so portable, as to be carried by forty men.

While his people were employed in executing this contrivance, he assembled his captains, in order to determine whether they should retreat by day or by night ; for he had, by this time, resolved to retire to Tlascala, and there take measures for returning to the siege of Mexico. The majority of the officers advised a retreat by night, in consideration of the Indian superstition, which hindered them from engaging an enemy after sun-set ; and on the supposition that, trusting to the negotiation, they had made no preparation for attacking them in their march upon the causey, by means of their canoes, which they could not easily assemble or manage in the dark. This opinion was warmly opposed by a good number, in which Cortes was himself included, who represented the inconveniences and danger that would attend the march of an army, with baggage and impediments, through an uncertain road, raised upon the waters, in the obscurity of a tempestuous night and rainy season, which could not fail to retard and impede the laying of bridges ; they likewise demonstrated how little stress could be laid upon the custom or common
maxims

maxims of the Mexicans, who had already infringed them, in setting fire to the quarters and taking possession of the temple by night ; and expiated upon the disgrace of retreating with the appearance of flight, by which they should hazard the friendship and esteem of their Indian confederates. The question in dispute being put to the vote, the majority declared for the first proposal, to which Cortes assented, and it was resolved to begin their march that very night, that the enemy might have the less time to form obstructions. Hernan is said to have sacrificed his own opinion the more readily on this occasion, because he was influenced by the prediction of a private soldier called Botello, who pretended to divination, and exhorted him to march away that very night, otherwise he should lose the greatest part of his army. Though Cortes generally laughed at the prognostics of this pretended astrologer, he now seemed to listen with more than ordinary attention, as, in all probability, the fellow happened to accost him in one of those moments of weakness, from which the greatest men are not exempted.

As soon as the carpenters had finished the pontoon, which was thought sufficient to answer all the gaps in the causeway, by being removed from one to another occasionally, Cortes dispatched another Mexican deputy, in order to amuse the enemy with further proposals of peace, while he made the proper dispositions for his retreat, and gave his captains necessary instructions how to behave in all emergencies. His vanguard consisted of two hundred Spanish soldiers, with the choicest of the Tlascalans, and twenty horse, under the command of Gonzalo de Sandoval, Francisco de Azebedo, Diego de Ordaz, Francisco de Lugo, and Andres de Tapia. The rear guard, composed of a greater number of horse and foot, was conducted by Pedro

de Alvarado, Juan Velasquez de Leon, and some other captains, who had come with Narvaez. The prisoners, artillery, and baggage, with the main body of the army, were in the centre; and he himself, assisted by Alonso Davila, Christoval de Olid, and Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia, reserved one hundred choice men to be employed as necessity should require. This order being formed, he caused the treasure to be brought into his apartment, and deducting one fifth for the king, in those things which were most portable, he delivered it to the commissary, together with a mare of his own, and some wounded horses for the carriage. The remainder, amounting to upwards of seven hundred thousand pieces of eight, he left as a useless and dangerous incumbrance; but, finding the soldiers unwilling to lose their share of such a rich prize, he gave them to understand that they might take what they could conveniently carry. In consequence of this permission, some of the most avaricious, particularly of those who had come with Narvaez, loaded themselves in such a shameful manner, that they staggered under their burthens.

These previous steps being taken, and the soldiers encouraged by a short speech from Cortes, who, above all things, recommended vigilance and caution, lest they should under-rate the opposition of the enemy, they began their march about midnight, with great silence and circumspection; the wetness of the weather and darkness of the night favouring their motion; and the pontoon, which they carried in the front, was laid over the first canal before they met with the least opposition; but, the weight of the artillery and horse jammed it so fast among the stones on each side, that they found it impracticable to remove it; and indeed they had neither time nor opportunity for the attempt: for even before the army had passed the first breach of the

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the causey, they were suddenly assaulted on every side, and obliged to take to their arms with the utmost precipitation. The enemy had observed the motions of the Spaniards, assembled their troops and canoes in such a manner as to cover the lake on each side of the causey, and began the attack with so much regularity and silence, that the Christians did not hear their shells and outcries until they felt themselves wounded by their arrows. Had they preserved the same good order during the engagement, Cortes and his whole army must have been destroyed; but they soon relapsed into their own natural confused way of charging in heaps, by which means their canoes ran foul of each other, and were shattered to pieces, so that the Spaniards made terrible slaughter among the disorderly multitude, until their arms were wearied with the work of death. They were likewise attacked in front, by those who, being impatient of inaction, had thrown themselves into the lake, and clambered up to the causey, in order to dispute the passage: but here they crowded in such numbers, that they could not make use of their weapons, and the slaughter was so great, as to supply a sufficient number of bodies to fill up the canals for the passage of the Spaniards: at least, this circumstance is related by some writers, tho' there are some who alledge, with more probability, that the enemy had left a beam in the second bridge, on which the soldiers passed over in files, leading their horses through the water by the bridles; and that the van-guard pursued its march, without being much retarded by the last canal, which was fordable.

Cortes, having reached the shore, ordered Juan de Xaramillo to form the men as fast as they arrived, while he, returning to the causey with Gonzalo de Sandoval, Christoval de Olid, Alonso Davila, Francisco de Morla, and Gonzalo Dominguez, entered

the engagement, and animated the men by his presence and example. He lined each side of the causey with soldiers to repel the enemy, while the rest should file off in the centre; and commanded the artillery to be thrown into the water, in order to facilitate the march; but, in spite of all his valour and vigilance, part of his rear-guard was cut in pieces, the pontoon being destroyed by the Mexicans in the canoes, before these unhappy men could pass, tho' they chiefly consisted of those miserable wretches who had loaded themselves with the booty, and were incapable of acting like men for their own preservation. Their cries and groans, however, pierced to the soul of Cortes, who could not possibly yield them the least assistance; and, while he retreated with his men, in the utmost anxiety of mind, through the second division of the causey, he was joined by Pedro de Alvarado, who owed his life to an almost incredible effort of agility. Finding himself beset on every side, his horse killed under him, and one of the canals in his way, he pitched his spear in the breach, and raising his body with a wonderful spring, leaped from one side to the other, the distance being so enormous, that he himself afterwards, when he surveyed the place, was confounded at the reflection of his success; and that particular opening is still known by the name of Alvarado's Leap.

About day-break the army had passed over the lake, and halted near Tacuba, that those who had escaped from the battle and were missing might have time to join their friends; and accordingly this precaution saved the lives of several Spaniards and Tlascalans, who had swam ashore, and hid themselves in the fields of maiz till morning. These brought intelligence, that the last division of the rear-guard was entirely cut off; and the troops being drawn up, they found their loss amounted to two hundred

dred Spaniards, above one thousand Tlascalans, six and forty horses, and all the Mexican prisoners, who, in the confusion and darkness of the night, were treated as enemies by their own countrymen. The Spaniards were extremely dejected to find their number thus diminished, their artillery lost, and themselves, who were extremely fatigued, in danger of being assaulted again every moment; and what contributed greatly to the increase of their affliction, was the loss of some excellent officers, namely, Amador de Larez, Francisco de Morla, and Francisco de Salcedo, and, above all, Juan Velasquez de Leon, who brought up the rear, and fell, oppressed by multitudes, after having performed the most heroic exploits. He was a man of strict honour, and great military skill, and respected by all the soldiers, as the second person of the army.

Cortes sat down upon a stone to rest himself, while his officers were employed in forming his men, and, notwithstanding all his magnanimity, the sorrow of his soul manifested itself in a shower of tears; tho' he soon recollected that fortitude which was superior to all the vicissitudes of fortune, and consoled himself by reflecting, that Donna Marina and Geronimo de Aguilar, the principal instruments of the conquest, had escaped safe from the dangers of the battle. His eyes began to sparkle again with that vivacity, which never failed to animate his troops. He obtained a complete victory over despondence, and, with an air of tranquillity and good humour, called for the astrologer, whom he meant to rally upon the falshood of his prediction, but he was informed that the prophet was killed in the first assault of the causey.

Had the Spaniards been attacked upon this occasion, before they had recovered their spirits, and refreshed themselves after the fatigue of the battle, in all probability they would have sunk under such ex-

cessive toil and incessant opposition. But, they had time to recruit and repose themselves, in consequence of an accident, which was in other respects very unfortunate for Cortes. We have already observed, that all the Mexican prisoners were killed by the enemy; and in the morning, when they went to strip the dead, they found the sons of Motezuma transfix'd with their own arrows. They were amazed, stupified, and confounded at this spectacle; all the troops were seized with consternation and dismay; and the new emperor being made acquainted with the cause of their panic, ordered the bodies of those unhappy princes to be conveyed to the burying-place of their ancestors; and the ceremony of their funeral obsequies, in which all the inhabitants were engaged, afforded that seasonable respite to the Spaniards: nevertheless, the fate of those young princes was lamented by Cortes, as one of the greatest losses he had sustained; because, in the conquest of Mexico, he hoped to avail himself of the right which the eldest had to the throne.

In the mean time, he directed his march towards Tlascala with great caution, suspecting there was some design in the enemy's delay; and they had not proceeded far, when some bands of armed men appeared at a distance, and followed the army, without approaching to action. These were the inhabitants of Tacuba, Escapuzalco, and Tenecuya, whom the Mexicans had ordered to observe the motions of the Spaniards, and retard their march, until they themselves should have discharged their duty to the sons of Motezuma; and indeed it was not long before the whole multitude of the Mexicans came up, and, joining the others, attacked the army with such impetuosity, that they were obliged to halt, and face about in their own defence. Cortes, having placed his fire-arms and cross-bows in the front, ordered the horse to advance and charge
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the Indians, of whom a very great slaughter was made: but the number of the enemy continually increasing, while they plied their slings and arrows at a distance with good success, the Spaniards were fatigued with killing: they despaired of repulsing such an enormous multitude, and their valour began to slacken; when Cortes observing an edifice, with turrets, on the top of an eminence near the field of battle, resolved to gain that post, and effected his purpose tho' not without great difficulty. It was a temple dedicated to the sylvan deities, having a spacious court, encompassed by a wall, which, together with the towers, rendered it tolerably defensible. Here the Spaniards found shelter from the imminent danger to which they had been exposed; and, in consideration of the signal relief it afforded, they afterwards erected an hermitage on the spot, which is to this day known by the name of Nuestra Sennora de los Remedios, our Lady of Relief.

The enemy, after having approached within musket-shot of the walls, at which they discharged a vast number of arrows, and expressed their resentment in barbarous shouts and scurrilous invectives, retired in the evening towards Mexico: tho' the Spaniards, from the tops of the towers, discovered that they halted in the plain; and, dividing into several bodies, endeavoured to conceal themselves till morning.

Cortes posted his guards and sentinels with the utmost circumspection; ordered fires to be made, not ~~only to mitigate the coldness of the season, but also~~ to burn the arrows of the Mexicans, which lay in heaps about the place. The people were refreshed with the provisions found in the temple, and what the Indians had saved with the baggage: and the wounded were dressed with such expedients as the place afforded, the horse-cloths serving for lint and

bandages. While he thus tasked his industry and invention for the immediate relief of the poor soldiers, he did not neglect to revolve in his own mind the consequences of such an endless opposition, and, calling a council of his officers, proposed, that as they could not maintain this post for want of provisions, or hope to accomplish their retreat while environed with such multitudes of the enemy, they should take this opportunity of pursuing their march in the night, so as to be two or three leagues farther a head of the Indians at sunrise, when they would certainly renew their attack.

This proposal was unanimously approved; and some hours of rest being allotted for the refreshment of the people, who, tho' miserably fatigued, and for the most part wounded, saw the necessity of taking this measure, they departed from the temple at midnight, leaving the fires burning, in order to deceive the enemy; and the van guard, commanded by Diego de Ordaz, provided with trusty guides, proceeded above half a league without the least interruption. But, as they entered upon some broken and hilly ground, they discovered divers ambuscades, formed by the militia of the neighbouring towns, who poured down from the tops of eminences, or rushed out from among the bushes, and attacked the flanks without order. These light skirmishes, tho' they incommoded, could not obstruct the march of the Spaniards, who, after having advanced two leagues, halted before day-break, in another temple which they found upon an eminence, tho' not so high or capacious as the post they had left: but the light of the morning no sooner convinced them, that those whom they had mistaken for detachments of the Mexican army, were no other than bands of dastardly peasants, than they renewed their march, and proceeded two leagues farther,

farther, to a village advantageously situated, which they found deserted by its inhabitants, and in which they staid two days, until the wounded were in a condition to travel. They made two succeeding marches through a rocky and barren country, at a distance from the great road, which they had purposely quitted; suspicious of their guides, destitute of cover in the night, continually persecuted by those flying parties of Indians, and exposed to the rage of hunger and thirst, which they endeavoured to assuage by the herbs and roots of the field, till one of the wounded horses dying, afforded relief and entertainment to those who were in the greatest extremity. The last of these marches terminated in a village, where the inhabitants received them with a seeming chearfulness, and provided every thing for their entertainment with an appearance of frankness and hospitality: but, this was no other than a stratagem to decoy the Spaniards into careless security, that they might fall unprepared into the snare which was laid for them by the Mexicans.

Early in the morning, as the army ascended a mountain, which on the other side declined into the valley of Otumba, Donna Marina took notice, that the Indians who followed them at a distance, shouting and menacing, frequently exclaimed, "Proceed, tyrants! proceed: you will soon arrive at the place where you will all perish." And Cortes judging, from this exclamation, that some dangerous ambush awaited them, gave his officers proper instructions, and took all possible precautions to prevent a surprize. Accordingly, when they reached the mountain top, they beheld the passage effectually barred up by an immense multitude of armed men, who filled the whole extensive valley of Otumba.

These were the same Indians they encountered at the first temple, reinforced by an infinite number

from Mexico, headed by the principal nobles, who had divided into several bodies, and by different roads marched with such expedition as to get the start of the Spaniards, and join in this spacious plain, where they could attack them without being embarrassed for want of room.

The front of this army, which was composed of different nations, as appeared by the diversity of their colours and standards, took up the whole breadth of the valley; but the eye could not reach the extremity of the rear. The captain-general of the empire appeared in the centre, born upon mens shoulders, in a sumptuous litter, that he might the better judge of emergencies, and see his orders punctually executed, and distinguished by the royal standard of Mexico, which was never brought into the field but upon the most critical occasions. It was a net of massy gold, fastened to a pike, crowned with a plume of variegated feathers; and indeed the motion of their different arms and feathers waving in the wind, formed an appearance at once beautiful and tremendous.

Cortes, having surveyed this dreadful host, turned to his soldiers, with his wonted alacrity, and told them, that now their case was such that they must either conquer or die. He would have proceeded in his harangue, but was interrupted by his men, who, while their visages glowed with impatience of resentment, cried out, that he should give the word and lead them forthwith to battle. Far from baulking their ardour, he immediately advanced, having made a previous disposition. The first discharge of the fire-arms and cross-bows did great execution; every stroke of lance and sword was decisive; the horse broke down and trampled under foot all those bodies which endeavoured to flank or inclose the army; the Tlascalans threw themselves into the thickest of the battle, with an insatiable thirst

thirst after Mexican blood, and the Spaniards gained some ground in this first effort. But the enemy fought with great obstinacy. No sooner was one body cut in pieces, than another succeeded, and the battle was continually renewed with supplies of fresh men, so that the Spaniards must at last have been spent with the incessant exercise of their arms. Cortes, who fought on horseback, succouring those who were in greatest need of his assistance, and carrying death and terror on the point of his lance, foreseeing that the strength of his men must fail, in such an unintermitting action, resolved to make an extraordinary effort in order to win the imperial standard, which he could easily distinguish; rightly supposing, that the Mexicans would disperse upon its being taken.

He therefore commanded Gonzalo de Sandoval, Pedro de Alvarado, Christoval de Olid, and Alonzo Davila, to follow and secure his rear, while he with his troop charging that part of the enemy which was least distant from the centre, trod down whole battalions, and penetrated to the place where the imperial standard was defended by a band of nobles appointed for its guard. Hernan, spurring on his horse through the midst of them, closed with the captain-general, whom he dangerously wounded and overthrew from his litter with the first stroke of his lance, when Juan de Salamanca, a private gentleman, leaped from his horse, dispatched the dismounted Mexican, and, seizing the standard, gave it into the hands of Cortes; a piece of service, in consideration of which the emperor allowed him to wear the plume of feathers as a crest, and gratified him with some other more substantial favours.

The Mexicans no sooner beheld their standard in the power of the Spaniards, than they struck all the rest of their colours, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation, seeking for shel-

ter in the adjacent woods and fields of maiz ; while the victorious Spaniards, inflamed with resentment, and prompted by motives of conveniency, made a most dreadful slaughter of the fugitives ; insomuch that twenty thousand Indians are said to have been killed in the battle. Some Spaniards were hurt, and two or three died afterwards of their wounds at Tlascala ; and Cortes himself received a violent blow on his head with a stone, which battered his head-piece, and made a small fracture in his skull.

The spoil, which was given to the soldiers, proved very considerable ; for the Mexicans came adorned with their best jewels, as to an assured triumph, depending upon their number, which amounted to two hundred thousand : and indeed, if we reflect upon the great inequality between the contending armies in this particular, we must allow this to have been one of the greatest victories that ever was obtained in America.

C H A P. XXVII.

Cortes and his troops at last gain the City of Tlascala, where they are joyfully received ; making a most magnificent Entry ; and public games are set on foot in honour of them ; but affairs are damped by Cortes being taken ill ; who recovers ; and the Tlascalans receive an embassy from the new emperor of Mexico ; another enemy rises up against Cortes in the person of Xicotencal.

CORTES having assembled his troops, which were scattered up and down for the sake of pillaging, pursued his march, not without suspicion of being again attacked, as he observed several bodies of men on the tops of the mountains ; and at night took possession of some houses, where, however,

ever, he did not think his people very secure. Next day, the enemy took their leave of him, with distant cries and menaces : and, soon after, they entered the confines of Tlascala, when the whole army expressed their joy by acclamations, and the Tlascalans prostrated themselves on the ground, which they kissed with filial rapture.

Here, while they rested and refreshed themselves by a fountain of delicious water, the general, in a short speech, represented to them, of what importance it was to preserve the friendship of the Tlascalans ; and exhorted them to behave in the city with kindness and civility to the inhabitants, avoiding all occasions of giving offence to the meanest citizen, as an error which might endanger their common safety. At noon he quartered his troops in Gualipar, a considerable town, the inhabitants of which received him with great hospitality : and from hence he sent two Tlascalans to the senate, with an account of his retreat and success ; but fame had already made them acquainted with his victory ; and the messengers were scarce dismissed, when he was visited by his friend Magiscatzin, old Xicotencal with his son, and others sent by the senate, to compliment him upon his return. Magiscatzin advanced before the rest, flew into his arms, and then stepped back to behold and admire a man so worthy of his veneration and esteem. The blind Xicotencal, directed by the sound of Hernan's voice, groped his way to his embrace, and expressed his affection in a flood of tears. They congratulated him upon his victory, testified the most tender concern for his wounds, regreted the loss of so many Spaniards, particularly the death of Juan Velasquez de Leon, whom they sincerely loved ; inveighed against the barbarous conspiracy of the Mexicans ; and offered to assist him, in his revenge, with all the forces of the republic and her allies. Cortes made suitable
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acknowledgments for all this courtesy, and was fully convinced of the continuance of their esteem, which was greatly improved by the victory of Otumba, an action admired at Tlascala, as a prodigy of valour, and the chief glory of the expedition. They proposed that he should immediately proceed to the city, where quarters were provided for his men; but he chose to remain in his present situation, until his people should be refreshed and recovered from the fatigues they had undergone; and the chiefs of the Tlascalans assented the more readily, as they should have time to prepare for his entry, which they determined to celebrate as a solemn triumph.

The Spaniards, having staid three days at Gualipar, during which they were liberally supplied with necessaries at the expence of the republic, adorned themselves with the plumes, jewels, and finery of the vanquished Mexicans, and began their march for Tlascala, which they entered in the month of July, 1520. The senate, in their richest robes, came out to receive them, with a numerous attendance; the fields were crowded with people, the air was filled with acclamations; and, at their entrance, they were saluted with the sounds of kettle-drums, flutes and horns, which composed a concert rather sprightly than harmonious. The troops being conveniently quartered, Cortes yielded to the importunities of Magiscatzin, who pressed him to be his guest; and Pedro de Alvarado went with Xicotencal, rather than give offence by a refusal; but the other captains, tho' strongly solicited by the rest of the caciques and ministers of state, declined their invitations, because it would have been improper to leave the main-guard without a sufficient number of officers.

The festival of triumph continued for some days, during which the Indians celebrated the victory,
with

with all sorts of diversion known and practised in that part of the world : they contended in shooting with arrows at marks, in running, wrestling, and leaping ; and in the evenings was exhibited a variety of rope-dancing, with a kind of masquerade. In a word, all the citizens, from the highest to the lowest, assisted at these shews with demonstrations of delight ; not even excepting those who had lost their friends and relations at the cause, a misfortune which they attributed to the chance of war, and thought sufficiently repaired by the glory of their fate, and the subsequent victory which their countrymen had helped to obtain. Cortes was deeply affected with the love and sincerity of these faithful allies, which he cultivated with real confidence and respect : his officers behaved towards them with the utmost courtesy, and even the meanest soldiers generously shared with them the jewels and spoils they had brought from the battle.

But, the joy of this festival was suddenly damped, by a dangerous fever that seized Cortes : the wound in his head broke out afresh, with bad symptoms ; an inflammation of his brain ensued, and his friends began to despair of his life. The mirth of Tlascala was all at once converted into mourning. The nobles, overwhelmed with sorrow, inquired incessantly about the state of his health ; and the common people came in troops, howling, and lamenting the danger that threatened the great Teule, which was an appellation they bestowed upon their demi-gods. The senate assembled the most expert physicians of the country, who, being permitted to exercise their skill upon the general, applied their medicinal herbs with such wonderful art and discernment, as in a little time restored him to his perfect health. Impatient to know the state of affairs at Vera Cruz, he wrote to Rodrigo Rangel by an Indian courier, who re-
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turned immediately with an answer, importing, that no alteration had happened in the garrison or on the coast; that Narvaez and Salvatierra were in safe custody; and the confederate Indians still faithful to their engagements. At the same time, he gave him to understand, that a corporal and eight soldiers, who had gone to Tlascala for the gold belonging to the garrison, were not returned, but, according to a report current among the Indians, were murdered in the province of Tepeaca; and he was afraid the wounded soldiers of Narvaez had met with the same fate; for, as fast as they recovered, they marched away from Zempoalla in small bodies, impatient to reach Mexico, which they considered as the centre of all their wealth and prosperity.

The truth of this report was confirmed by the Tlascalans, who had hitherto concealed it from Cortes, lest it should retard his recovery; and he had the mortification to find himself deprived, in this cruel perfidious manner, of a reinforcement of about fifty Spaniards, who had been destroyed by the Indians of Tepeaca. Glowing with resentment and concern, he resolved to take immediate vengeance on that faithless nation, which lay between him and Vera Cruz; and the Tlascalans, upon whose frontiers those Indians had committed hostilities, promised to interest themselves in his quarrel. Before they could take the field for this purpose, ambassadors from the new emperor of Mexico arrived at Gualipar, from whence they sent a message to the senate, desiring leave to enter the city with proposals of peace; and this permission being granted, with the consent of Cortes, they made their public entry with great solemnity and splendor. The tamenes came at the head of the procession, with the presents consisting of gold and silver, fine cotton cloths, plumes, and other curiosities, with several loads

loads of salt, which was in great request at Tlascala. The ambassadors, richly adorned with jewels, and accompanied with a numerous retinue, were received in the senate-house, where, after having named the emperor of Mexico with the usual ceremony of prostration, they made offers of peace and perpetual alliance, on condition they would declare war against the Spaniards, and assist them in extirpating those insolent strangers.—Here their speech was interrupted by the murmurs of the assembly, who were exasperated at the proposal; and the character of ambassadors, which they bore, would scarce have protected them from violence, had not some old senators interposed in their behalf, and restrained the impetuosity of the rest. In consequence of this mediation, the Mexicans were permitted to retire to their lodgings, until the senate should deliberate upon the subject of their embassy; and it was unanimously agreed to reject their terms with disdain: however, the ambassadors did not wait for a formal dismissal; but, from the reception they had already experienced, dreading some popular insurrection against their persons, they made off with great terror and precipitation.

. Yet, even amidst the Tlascalans, was found one man of consequence who endeavoured to destroy that harmony which subsisted between the Spaniards and the republic: this was no other than Xicotencal the general, in whose breast the remembrance of his being conquered still rankled with unceasing acrimony, producing envy and hatred to Cortes, which he had hitherto but ill disguised under the mask of friendship and complacency. Tho' he neither spoke nor voted in the senate in behalf of the Mexican proposals, he took this opportunity of sowing jealousies among the people, by means of his friends and adherents, who, in a clandestine manner, magnified the advantages that would result

sult to the republic from an alliance with the Mexicans, and represented their friendship for the Spaniards as a dangerous connection, that would in the end entail slavery and oppression upon them and their posterity. The senate being apprised of these practices, held a consultation, at which the old blind Xicotencal gave his opinion, that his son should be put to death as a sower of sedition; and, had not they respected the grey hairs and unblemished character of the father, he would have died as an ignominious traitor: but, in consideration of the senior's rank and services, the sentence was mitigated. The delinquent was brought before them in chains, upbraided with his perfidious dealing, deprived of his command and honours, and flung down the stairs of the senate-house with disgrace. In a few days after this degradation, he implored the forgiveness and countenance of Cortes, who had not known his crime until the punishment was inflicted, and by his interest was restored to his rank and honours; tho' his inveteracy afterwards broke out again, and cost him his life.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Cortes appeases his soldiers clamours; then marches against, and beats the Tepeacans; the emperor of Mexico dies, and Guatimozin is chosen in his room; another Mexican army attacks the Spaniards, and is totally routed; two ships arrive upon the coast with recruits from Velasquez; they all join Cortes, who builds some portable brigantines.

WHILE this Indian general assembled the troops of the republic with extraordinary diligence, by which he endeavoured to atone for his indiscretion; the soldiers who had come with Narvaez, being tired of the fatigues and perils they had undergone, and intimidated at the prospect of a new war, loudly clamoured against the expedition to Tepeaca, and even delivered a protestation in form to the general, signifying their refusal to undertake that enterprize, and a demand that they should march immediately for Vera Cruz, where they might be nearer at hand to solicit reinforcements from St. Domingo and Jamaica. This insolent remonstrance filled the breast of Cortes with indignation, which however he was obliged to disguise; he represented to them, that as the Tepeacans had seized the passes of the mountains, it would be impossible to reach Vera Cruz without fighting those people; and that they could not force their way, and open a free communication with their allies, unless assisted by the Tlascalan troops now assembling for that purpose: but, he assured them upon his word and honour, that as soon as those perfidious Indians should be subdued, all those who were unwilling to follow his fortune should have free liberty to depart.

Having

Having thus reconciled them to the service, he drew up his army, amounting to four hundred and twenty Spaniards, with seventeen horse, armed with pikes, swords, and targets, cross-bows and fire-arms, and these being reinforced with eight thousand choice Tlascalans, commanded by officers of approved valour, he left the care of bringing up the rest to Xicotencal, and began his march amidst the acclamations of the people. Having marched three leagues, they took up their quarters for the night in a village belonging to the enemy, who abandoned it with precipitation at sight of the army; and next morning, Cortes ordering some peasants who had been taken by the advanced guard to be brought before him, gave them some presents, and set them at liberty, on their promise, to tell the caciques of Tepeaca, in his name, that he was come to punish their revolt, and revenge the death of those Spaniards whom they had so treacherously murdered: nevertheless, if they would join him and his allies the Tlascalans against the Mexicans, he would pardon what was past, and take them into the number of his friends. The Indians departed with this message, and next day returned with an answer, rejecting all terms of peace, and threatening to come and carry the Spaniards bound to the altars of their gods. Notwithstanding this insolent declaration, Cortes repeated his offers, which he sent in writing, accompanied with threats, importing, that, in case of their refusal, he would destroy them with fire and sword as traitors to the king, and all the survivors should be sold as slaves. They laughed at the paper which he had sent as something mysterious to excite their astonishment and fear, sent back a more insolent reply than the former, and immediately took the field in order to dispute his march. They formed an ambuscade in some fields of maiz, which might have turned to
their

their advantage had they used more precaution; but their own impatience discovered them at a distance, so that Cortes had time and opportunity to frustrate their design. Having made a proper disposition, he marched on as if he had not perceived them, and wheeling about all of a sudden, attacked them with great fury, and made a prodigious slaughter: the battle soon became general; and, notwithstanding the obstinacy and despair with which the Tepeacans fought, they were soon put in confusion; and, being abandoned by their Mexican allies, were totally routed, with the loss of almost their whole army; so that they sent deputies that same night, to implore the clemency of the victor, and surrender themselves and their city to the discretion of Cortes, who obtained this victory without the loss of one man.——Next day he marched into the city, and all the inhabitants prostrated themselves before him with marks of extreme fear and despondence; but, when he ordered his interpreters to proclaim king Charles, and a general pardon in the name of that prince, their apprehension was instantly converted into excessive joy, which broke out in the most extravagant raptures; and they entreated Cortes to take their city into his protection, that they might never again be influenced by the Mexicans, who had instigated them to renounce their first treaty with the Spaniards, in such a perfidious and cruel manner. The general, taking advantage of this request, fortified the city with a trench and palisadoes, and built a kind of citadel to keep them in obedience, and secure the passage to Vera Cruz; but, before this work was begun, he sent all the prisoners who had been taken in the battle to Tlascalala, where they were publicly sold as slaves, in order to deter the other Indians from revolting: an instance of inhumanity, which we are sorry to find countenanced by the conqueror of Mexico.

Xicotencal arriving with the rest of the troops, to the number of five and thirty thousand men, Cortes, in order to keep them in employment, sent different detachments, under the conduct of Spaniards, to reduce some places in the province of Tepeaca, which still declared for the Mexicans, by whom they were supported; and they soon returned victorious, after having repulsed the enemy to the other side of the mountains, and enriched themselves with a considerable booty, and a great number of captives, whom they sold as slaves, according to the new adopted maxim.

About this time, Quetlavaca emperor of Mexico dying, the electors assembled, and conferred the imperial dignity upon Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law to Motezuma, a young prince of great courage and sagacity, who gained the affections of his people by the wise dispositions he made in the very beginning of his reign. He encouraged the soldiers with rewards and privileges, exempted the subjects from all tribute while the war should continue, treated his nobles with affability, made presents to the caciques on the frontiers, in order to confirm them in their fidelity, and sent an army of thirty thousand men for their support and encouragement.

Cortes was informed of these occurrences, by deputies from the cacique of Guacachula, a populous and warlike city, situated on the road to Mexico, who came to complain of the tyranny of the Mexicans, and implore the assistance of the Spaniards against their oppressors. Hernan, being convinced of this cacique's sincerity, and sensible of the necessity there was to expel the enemy from such an important place, that very day formed a body of thirty thousand Tlascalans, with three hundred Spaniards and thirteen horse, and next morning sent it, with the envoys of Guacachula, under the command

mand of Christoval de Olid, who had orders to repulse the enemy, and take possession of the town. They marched on very chearfully for six leagues, when, being about the same distance from Guacachula, they were told by the peasants, that the emperor of Mexico was on his march with his whole army to give them battle. This report made such an impression upon the soldiers of Narvaez, that they flatly refused to proceed, and it was with great difficulty that Olid could prevail upon them to perform their duty. Their mutinous clamours were scarce appeased, when they saw several bodies of armed men descending from the mountains, and advancing towards them with great expedition, so that Christoval immediately drew up his men in order of battle; but, he was soon informed by some horse, which he had sent out for intelligence, that these Indians were commanded by the cacique of Guaxo-tingo and some of his neighbours, who had come to assist the Spaniards against the Mexicans, by whom their dominions had been ravaged. Their motives, however, were suspected by the Tlascalans, who infected the Spaniards with their doubts, declaring that those people were not to be trusted, as in all probability they were sent by the Mexicans in order to betray the Spaniards, by falling upon them during the engagement. This notion weighed too much with Olid, who forthwith caused the caciques to be seized, and sent in shackles to Cortes, who remained at Tepeaca. This inconsiderate action was productive of no bad consequence; for the Indians, who had really come with friendly intent, kept their post, and resolved to wait patiently for the determination of the general, which they hoped would do justice to their sincerity.

Nor was their expectation in this particular disappointed. Cortes expressed equal displeasure and concern at seeing the caciques in chains: he instantly

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y ordered their fetters to be knocked off, received them in the most amicable manner, made an apology for the rash conduct of his captain, whom he assured them he would severely reprimand, embraced their proffered alliance, and having effectually acquired their confidence and esteem, set out with them in person to take the command of the expedition, in which he found his presence was absolutely necessary. He no sooner arrived at the army, than all symptoms of mutiny disappeared: he rebuked Christoval de Olid for his inconsiderate behaviour, joined his new allies, and marched directly towards Guacachula, at the farther side of which the enemy were posted. The Mexicans, being informed of his motions, advanced with great dispatch between him and the city, and began the battle with a furious onset: the victory, however, was not long in suspense; for the cacique of Guacachula laying hold on this opportunity to manifest his fidelity to Cortes, fell suddenly upon the rear of the Mexicans, who in little more than half an hour were entirely defeated. The Spaniards took up their quarters in the city, and the Tlascalans staid without the walls, with the rest of the confederates, whose number continually increased, by the arrival of other caciques who had submitted to the king of Spain; infomuch that by this time his army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men. His next care was to reduce Yzucan, which was a town of great natural strength, fortified with walls and ravelins, defended in front by a river, and garrisoned with ten thousand Mexicans, who had broke down the bridge, in order to dispute the passage. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, Christoval de Olid, who commanded the van-guard, threw himself with his troops into the water, and tho' his horse was killed under him, and himself wounded in the thigh, he gained

the opposite shore, and repulsed the enemy into the city, which they made shew of defending; but the army had scarce passed the river, and received orders for the attack, when at once the cries of the enemy ceased, and their garrison disappeared. Cortes having discovered the Mexicans flying towards the mountains, detached some companies of Spaniards and the greatest part of the Tlascalans in pursuit of the fugitives; and, finding the city entirely forsaken by the inhabitants, he sent some of their countrymen whom he had taken prisoners, to the woods and fastnesses, whither they had retired with their families, to offer free pardon and good treatment to all such as would return to their houses. In consequence of this promise, the town was almost filled that same day. The general divided the spoil of both actions with his new Indian allies who were charmed with his generosity; and he and the Tlascalans returned in triumph to Tepeaca, where by this time he had completed his fort and settlement, to which he gave the name of Segura de la Frontera.

About this time a ship arrived at St. Juan de Ulua, with thirteen Spanish soldiers, two horses, and some provision and ammunition sent by Diego de Velasquez to Pamphilo de Narvaez, under the command of Pedro de Barba, who was governor of the Havannah when Cortes sailed on the expedition. Pedro de Cavallero, who commanded on the coast, having discovered this vessel, went out in a boat to reconnoitre, and saluted the new-comers with great civility; but, suspecting the design of their coming, when Pedro de Barba inquired after Pamphilo de Narvaez, he answered without hesitation, that he was in good health and great prosperity; for all those countries had submitted to him; and Cortes, with a few followers, was fled to the mountains. Deceived by this intelligence, Pedro

de Barba landed without distrust, and was conducted to Vera Cruz, where finding himself fairly outwitted, he was not very sorry for the success of the stratagem, being in effect a well-wisher and friend to Cortes, who, on his arrival at Segura de la Frontera, received him with great courtesy and affection, gave him the command of a company of cross-bows, and distributed some presents among the soldiers, who willingly insisted in his service. He then perused the letter intended for Narvaez, in which Velasquez promised that officer powerful succours, and ordered him to send Cortes under a sufficient guard to Cuba, that he might be conveyed as a criminal to Spain, according to the desire of the bishop of Burgos, who intended to make a public example of him in the most ignominious manner. In eight days after this recruit, a second vessel arrived with a reinforcement of eight soldiers, one mare, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, under the conduct of Rodrigo Morejon de Lobera, who was likewise trepanned by Cavallero, and sent to Segura, where, like the others, he and his men engaged in the enterprize of Cortes.

The general had already resolved upon the conquest of Mexico, which he did not doubt of achieving, supported as he was by such a number of confederate Indians; and, in order to obviate the difficulty of the lake, which of necessity he was obliged to pass; he bethought himself of building twelve or thirteen brigantines, which should be able to resist the Indian canoes, and transport his troops to the city; and these he proposed to carry in pieces on the shoulders of the Indian tamenes, over the mountains of Tlascala, to a river in the neighbourhood of the lake.

This singular idea he communicated to Martin Lopez, who approved of the design, and undertook to execute it with the utmost facility; and was
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immediately dispatched to Tlascala, with all the Spaniards who understood carpenters work, and a sufficient number of Indians to cut wood, and be otherwise subservient to his directions in forwarding the scheme. At the same time he ordered the iron work and rigging which had been saved out of the sunken ships, to be brought from Vera Cruz; employed a number of hands in extracting a kind of pitch and tar from trees that grew upon the mountains, and sent others, under the direction of Juan de Laet a Montano, who belonged to the artillery, to the volcano discovered by Diego de Ordaz, from whence they brought a large quantity of sulphur, which was made into gun-powder for the expedition.

These previous steps being taken, he left instructions with the new council of Segurá, appointed Francisco de Orozco commander of the garrison, consisting of about twenty Spanish Soldiers, with power over the militia of the country, and set out on his return to Tlascala, which he entered in mourning for the death of his old friend Magiscatzin, who had been converted to Christianity in his last moments: the arms of his officers and soldiers were covered with the manufacture of the country dyed black, and they marched in profound silence with demonstrations of grief and concern, which were extremely acceptable to the Tlascalans, who looked upon the defunct as the father of his country. The place of cacique was, by the recommendation of Cortes, bestowed upon his son, a youth of great courage and extraordinary talents, who soon after his promotion, was converted to Christianity, and baptized by Bartholomé de Olmedo, under the name of Don Lorenzo de Magiscatzin. The example of this convert was followed by another young man, the cacique of Yzucan, who came to Tlascala to thank Cortes for having determined a

suit in his favour; and even old Xicotencal renounced the errors of the Indian superstition.

We have already observed, that Francisco de Garay was repulsed from Panuco, while Cortes continued at Zempoalla: notwithstanding this check, he fitted out a more powerful armament, with which he resumed the enterprize, but far from succeeding, his soldiers no sooner landed, than the Indians attacked them with such fury, that they were fain to betake themselves to their ships in great disorder, and put to sea immediately for their preservation. There they were separated for some days, during which they severally formed the same design, without knowing the sentiments of each other, and arrived almost at the same time on the coast of Vera Cruz, in order to serve under Cortes, by whose reputation they were allured. The first ship that arrived had on board sixty Spanish soldiers, commanded by captain Camargo: the next brought fifty choice men and seven horses, under the command of Miguel Diaz de Auz, a gallant and experienced officer; and the third vessel, conducted by captain Ramirez, contained above forty soldiers, ten horses, and great plenty of arms and provision.

C H A P. XXIX.

New succours arrive at Vera Cruz; a deputation sent to the court of Spain requiring more assistance; Hernan draws up excellent military rules for his army; and marches towards Mexico; the Spanish army in danger of being drowned; but escapes, and is every where successful.

THIS seasonable and unexpected succour could not but be very agreeable to Cortes, whose fame had by this time diffused itself over all the islands subject to the crown of Spain. The newcomers took the road to Tlascala as they landed, in three distinct bodies, and were received with transports of joy by the general and his people, who embraced them as friends of a long acquaintance, without any other tie than that of national regard, and considered their arrival as an interposition of providence in their behalf.

Notwithstanding this favourable acquisition, the soldiers of Narvaez were still importunate with him for leave to return to the island of Cuba, reminding him of the promise he had made before they set out on the expedition to Tepeaca; and he was the better disposed to grant their request, now that he had received a reinforcement of soldiers who would be more obedient to his command. He therefore ordered proclamation to be made, that those who desired to return should be furnished with vessels and all other necessaries; and the greatest part of the soldiers who came with Narvaez took this opportunity of retiring: among those the reader will be surpris'd to find Andres de Duero, who had been formerly so much attached to Cortes, and even owed

his life to the personal prowess of the general. Some misunderstanding had happened between these friends, in consequence of which Duero withdrew, and soon after employed all his interest at court in favour of Diego de Velasquez.

Cortes having committed the charge of conducting and embarking these mutineers, to Alvarado, dispatched orders to the confederates, to prepare their troops, arms, and provisions, so as to be able to march on the first notice; and, in the mean time, resolved to equip a vessel and send new agents to Spain, who might forward the negotiations of Portocarrero and Montexo, and give him an account of his own interest at court, the uncertainty of which gave him great anxiety. For this purpose, he drew up a memorial to the king, in form of a letter, containing a faithful detail of all the incidents which had happened to him from the time he marched out of Zempoalla, till his retreat to Tlascalala; together with an account of the extent, wealth and power of the Mexican empire; the strong alliances he had made with the Indian nations, by means of which he hoped to subject that vast and fertile country to the dominion of Spain: he desired speedy justice against the unfair proceedings of Diego de Velasquez, and Francisco de Garay, solicited immediate succours of men, horses, arms, and other warlike provision; and entreated his majesty to send over some ecclesiastics of approved virtue, to assist Father Olmedo in the conversion of the Indians, who seemed perfectly well disposed to embrace the Christian faith.

The two councils of Vera Cruz and Segura de la Frontera likewise wrote to his majesty, representing the necessity of sending immediate assistance, and maintaining Hernan Cortes in his post of captain general, as the beginning of this great work was wholly owing to his valour and conduct; and

it would be found very difficult, if not impracticable, to supply his room with any other man capable of bringing it to perfection. These dispatches were entrusted to the care of Alonso de Mendoza, and Diego de Ordaz, who embarked in a few days for Spain, after having received private instructions to conceal their commission until they should have found out his father and the two former agents, with whom they should act in concert, as the exigency of affairs might require; and that their joint solicitations might have the more weight, they carried a second present for the emperor, consisting of gold and other curiosities which had been preserved at Tlascala, and acquired in the two last expeditions of Tepeaca and Guacachula. At the same time, he dispatched Alonso Davila and Francisco Alvarez Chico, with letters for the regulars of St. Jerome, who presided in the royal audience of St. Domingo, with jurisdiction over all the islands and new discoveries on the main land; desiring their speedy assistance towards the success of the enterprize in which he was engaged; and the interposition of their authority, in putting a stop to the vexatious proceedings of Velasquez and Garay. He soon received a very favourable answer from these fathers, who approved of his conduct; and tho' they were not in a condition to send him the supplies he wanted, promised to support the justice of his pretensions with the emperor, and undertook to check the efforts of his rivals, by the most peremptory injunctions to desist from their opposition.

Tho' he did not immediately reap the fruits of these precautions, he triumphed in the end over all his adversaries; and, in the mean time, having received another providential supply of thirteen Spanish soldiers, who came to seek their fortunes, in a vessel that arrived at Vera Cruz, with a loading of

arms, gun-powder, and provision, he resolved to begin his march, without waiting until the brigantines should be finished, because the troops of the republic and other allies were already assembled, and he apprehended some inconveniencies from their inaction.

In a council of his captains, it was agreed that their first attempt should be made upon Tezeuco, which being in the road from Tlascala, and almost upon the borders of the lake, they resolved to fortify and maintain it as a place of arms and sure retreat, where they could be sheltered from the accidents of war.

Immediately after this resolution, Cortes reviewed his Spaniards, who amounted to five hundred and forty soldiers, with forty horse and nine pieces of artillery, brought on shore from the vessels. His parade was made in the most ostentatious manner, in order to captivate the admiration of the Indians, of whom there was an innumerable concourse assembled to see this spectacle; and they were so struck with the finery of the soldiers, the flying colours, their dexterity in managing the horses, handling their arms, and saluting the general, that they filled the air with acclamations of astonishment and applause. Xicotencal, at the head of ten thousand Tlascalans, either from an ambition of emulating the Spaniards, or with a view to compliment Cortes, appeared in his gayest accoutrements, and performed the Indian exercise of war with equal pomp and agility; each captain being adorned with plumes of variegated feathers, jewels hanging at his ears and lips; carrying his macana or two-handed sword under the left arm, with the point upwards, and attended by a page who bore his shield, distinguished by figures expressing his own achievements in war.

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The general foreseeing the difficulty of conducting and governing an army composed of so many different nations, formed, at his leisure, a body of articles of war, to be observed by all his soldiers on pain of death. They imported, that no man should draw his sword against another, either in quarters or upon the march : that no Spaniard should insult a confederate Indian, either in word or action : that no man should violate or abuse a woman, tho' belonging to the enemy ; that no soldier should quit the army to go and plunder, without leave asked and given ; that they should not play away their horses and arms ; and he prohibited swearing, blasphemy, and other irregularities, on pain of infamy and degradation. These ordinances were interpreted to the commanders of the Indian troops, and had a wonderful effect in reforming their discipline ; for, after a few examples had been made, they conducted themselves with the utmost care, circumspection and sobriety.

These prudent regulations being settled, and every thing provided for the march, the general made a speech to the Spaniards, who were drawn up for the purpose, exhorting them to behave with complacency to those poor Indians who had so warmly espoused their interest. He explained the importance of the undertaking in which they were embarked, declared his intention to punish delinquents with all the rigour of military discipline ; reminded them of the honour they had already acquired by their actions, represented the harvest of glory that lay before them, and lastly protested that he would, upon all occasions, reward superior merit to the utmost of his judgment and ability. After this harangue which was answered with loud peals of acclamation, he, on the feast of Innocents, in the year 1520, put himself at the head of the army, consisting of three score thousand men, and

having marched six leagues before sun-set, took up his quarters in the town of TezmelUCA, situated on the Mexican confines, and in the jurisdiction of Guazocingo, the cacique of which had provided plenty of provision for the whole army. Next day they proceeded with all necessary caution in the enemy's country; and understanding the Mexicans were assembled on the other side of a mountain of difficult passage, in the road of Tezeuco, they did not think it was advisable to enter upon such broken ground in the evening; but, halted all night in the open fields, making large fires to mitigate the coldness of the weather. Early in the morning, they began to ascend the mountain which was overgrown with wood, and having proceeded about a league, found the way blocked up with trees laid across, and sharp stakes fixed in the sand, in order to wound the horses: these impediments, however, were soon removed by a detachment of two thousand Tlascalans picked for that service; small parties were sent out in quest of ambuscades, and having marched two leagues farther, with all necessary caution, they reached the summit of the mountain, from which they discovered the great lake of Mexico: a sight that inflamed the soldiers with eager hope and glowing indignation. Here they saw fires successively kindled in the distant towns, as signals of their approach; and having continued their march through very difficult roads, until they got clear of the woods, they descried at a great distance, the enemy's army, which filled all the plain; through which ran a considerable stream of water, collected from the neighbouring hills, and over it they had laid a little wooden bridge, which was left as a decoy to the Spaniards, whom they meant to attack before they could form on the other side. As Cortes advanced, however, their resolution failed them, and they

they gradually retired from the pass, without turning their backs, until the Spaniards had partly crossed the bridge, and twenty horse, with some companies of Tlascalans, were detached to keep them in play; then they betook themselves to the most precipitate flight, seeking shelter among the rocks and mountains, whither Cortes did not think proper to pursue them, because it was of more importance to possess himself of Tezeuco without delay. That evening the troops were quartered in a place within three leagues of that town, and next day, as they proceeded on their march, they descried ten unarmed Indians coming towards them in haste, with a plate of gold in form of a flag fastened to the top of a lance, as the signal of peace. These were ambassadors from the king of Tezeuco, who besought Cortes to spare his country and people, and admit him into the number of his confederates, and gave him to understand that he had provided good quarters for the Spaniards within the city, and that his allies should be supplied with all necessaries without the walls. When Cortes examined the deputies in private, they told him the reigning emperor of Mexico had threatened their prince with extortions and intolerable oppression, because he had refused to vote for him at his election; and that, in order to shelter himself and his subjects from his tyranny, he had resolved to sue for the protection of the Spaniards.

This prince was, in all probability, the same Cacumazin who had been dispossessed by Motezuma, and was now restored by the new emperor, on account of his being a declared enemy of the Spaniards. This conjecture seems to be justified by the distrust of Cortes, who forthwith calling a council of his officers, communicated the proposals, together with his doubts, touching the sincerity of the Indian cacique; in consequence of which, it was

resolved to proceed with the utmost caution, and, in the mean time, embrace the proffered alliance with seeming alacrity, so as to have free entrance into the town, where they might be upon their guard against his perfidious designs, and act as occasion should require. Cortes accordingly dispatched the ambassadors, to let their prince know that he accepted the proffered quarters and alliance; and lodged that night in a village adjoining to the town, which being deserted by its inhabitants, the general's suspicion began to increase, especially as neither the cacique, nor any of his people came out to congratulate him upon his arrival. At sun-rise, he made his dispositions for attacking the town, which, however, were unnecessary; for he found the gates open, and entering without resistance, advanced through the streets in order, until he arrived at a large square, in which he drew up the greatest part of his men, while the rest took possession of the avenues. The inhabitants who appeared in several places in crowds, exhibited the symptoms of anxiety and consternation; and as no woman was to be seen, the general no longer doubted their having concerted some hostile design. In this opinion, he detached Pedro de Alvarado, Christoval de Olid, and Bernal Diaz del Castillo, with some fire-arms, and a sufficient number of Tlascalans, to take possession of the chief temple, from the top of which, they saw great numbers of the inhabitants flying from the city, some by land to the mountains, and others in canoes to Mexico. When Hernan inquired for the cacique, he was informed that he had retired to Mexico, with a few followers of little or no account; that the nobility and people in general abhorred his government; and that finding in the return of his ambassadors, how strongly Cortes was supported by Indian allies, he durst not venture to put in execution the scheme he had contrived of

decoying

decoying the Spaniards into the city, where being secure, and unsuspecting, they might be destroyed in one night by the Mexicans, whom he had promised to admit in the dark for that purpose.

Cortes having thus, without opposition, made himself master of Tezeuco, resolved to conciliate the affections of the people, by prohibiting his soldiers under the severest penalties, to plunder or commit the least outrage against the inhabitants; and he quartered the Spaniards, with part of the Tlascalans, in the palace of the fugitive king, while the rest were lodged in the neighbouring streets, without entering the houses, that they might not incommode the people.

Next morning, some idol priests came to solicit good treatment for their gods, to return thanks for the moderation with which Cortes had hitherto behaved, and to beg permission for the nobles of the city to come and make a tender of their friendship and obedience. Hernan having gladly granted their request, they came in their formalities, headed by a youth of a genteel mien, who told the general he was come with that troop of friends to serve in his army; and hoped they would, by their actions, deserve his protection. Cortes, charmed with the genteel deportment of this young man, embraced him in an affectionate manner, and having received his followers with proper decorum, retired to a more proper apartment, where, by the help of his interpreters, he might question them about such matters as he wanted to know. Here, they gave him to understand that the youth who had first accosted him, was son to the elder brother of Cacumazin, and consequently true heir to the crown which that usurper possessed, after having murdered the lawful sovereign: and Cortes finding by their discourse, that the said Cacumazin was odious to the people, on account of his tyranny and oppression,

oppression, resolved to raise this young prince to the throne: an act of justice, by which he won the hearts of the Tezeucans, and firmly attached to his interests a promising young prince, who was next day crowned, in presence of Cortes, with great solemnity, amidst the acclamations of the people; and, being soon after converted to the Christian religion, took the name of Don Hernando Cortes, in respect to his godfather. In consequence of this revolution, the city was immediately repeopled by the return of those families which had fled to the mountains; the Mexicans were declared enemies, and the Spaniards revered as their best benefactors; and they cheerfully assisted, to the number of six or seven thousand, in working upon the canals that conveyed the waters of the lake to the city, in order to make them wider and deeper, for the reception of the brigantines.

In order to facilitate this work, in which the men were frequently disturbed by canoes from Mexico, and to employ his Indian allies, who were not easily restrained from licence while they continued inactive, Cortes resolved to advance with part of his forces to the city of Iztapalapa, which was situated six leagues nearer Mexico, within the lake, the water of which was brought into the town by trenches, provided with sluices to be opened or shut occasionally. He accordingly set out on this expedition with three hundred Spaniards and ten thousand Tlascalans, leaving the military government of Tezeuco to Gonzalo de Sandoval, and when they came in sight of Iztapalapa, they were opposed by a body of eight thousand Indians, who having fought for some time, retired into the city, and throwing themselves into the lake with great precipitation, suddenly disappeared. Cortes finding the gates left open, entered the city, the higher part of which was utterly abandoned, and there he
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took up his quarters for the night, the day being already too far spent for any further attempt; but, just at the close of the evening, they perceived the canals overflowing, and the water rushing upon them from the sluices, with such impetuosity that they were obliged to quit the place with the utmost dispatch, otherwise, the whole army would have perished. Cortes, extremely mortified to find himself thus over-reached, spent the night on a little rising-ground, where the troops suffered very much from the wetness of their cloaths and the cold weather, against which they had no defence; and at day-break he retreated towards Tezeuco, at a quick pace, that the men might be warmed with exercise; he had not proceeded far, when he saw himself pursued by an innumerable multitude of the enemy, so that he was obliged to face about, in order to sustain their attack, which as usual was very violent; but, they were soon repulsed with considerable loss, and the army resumed their march. Notwithstanding the first check, the Mexicans rallying, returned to the charge in two subsequent attacks, by which they lost above six thousand men; until Cortes approaching Tezeuco, they quitted the field, leaving the victory to the Spaniards, who lost not one man, though several soldiers were wounded, and one horse covered with arrows, just lived to bring off his master.

While the general continued at Tezeuco, he was frequently visited by the neighbouring caciques and other Indians, who came to make submission, and offer their alliance against the emperor of Mexico, by whom they were oppressed. Among others, came deputies in great haste from the provinces of Chalco and Otumba, soliciting assistance against a powerful army of Mexicans, who were already upon their frontiers, and threatened to destroy

destroy them for having made an alliance with the Spaniards.

Cortes, in order to protect his allies, and prevent the enemy from taking possession of a post, by which they might cut off his communication with Tlascala, immediately detached Gonzalo de Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo, with two hundred Spaniards, fifteen horse, and a sufficient body of Tlascalans, to frustrate the designs of the Mexicans; they were attacked in their march, by a body of the enemy which lay in ambuscade, and was easily routed; but, they assembled a very formidable army in another part of the road to Chalco and Otumba, where they resolved to give the Spaniards battle. Sandoval and Lugo, apprized of their design, advanced in order, and the Mexicans rushing upon them with fury and disorder, met with such a warm reception from the fire-arms and cross-bows, as checked their career; then the horse advancing, made room for the infantry and Tlascalans to enter and break this confused multitude, which being, at the same time, attacked in the rear by the troops of Chalco and Otumba, was entirely defeated with terrible slaughter. Eight of the most considerable persons in the Mexican army were taken prisoners and reserved for intelligence; and the victorious army passed the night in the city of Chalco, where they were entertained with great hospitality. The old enmity between the Tlascalans and the Chalquese was now forgotten, and the Spanish captains taking this favourable opportunity, mediated a treaty of peace between the two nations, which was afterwards confirmed by Cortes and the senate of Tlascala.

The expedition being thus happily terminated, Sandoval and Lugo returned to Tezeuco, where Cortes honoured them with particular marks of approbation; then ordering the eight Mexican prisoners

ners to be brought before him, he received them, in the midst of his captains, with an air of severity; and they approached with symptoms of extreme terror and confusion, to suffer that punishment which they thought inevitable. He gave them to understand by his interpreters, that although it was in his power to retort upon them the barbarous cruelties they had exercised on his people, he would convince them that the Spaniards were as much their superiors in generosity as in valour; that he would give them both life and liberty, providing they would promise, upon the honour of their nobility, to tell their prince in his name, that he was coming to demand satisfaction, for their perfidious attack upon him, in his retreat to Mexico, contrary to the treaty which they themselves had proposed and confirmed; but, chiefly to revenge the death of Motezuma, whom they had most treacherously murdered; that his army being now augmented, not only by a number of invincible Spaniards, but also by all the nations that abhor the Mexican name, he would in a little time seek the emperor in the midst of his court, lay all his towns in ashes, and drown the very remembrance of him in Mexican blood; unless he should deprecate his indignation, and sue for peace, which would be granted upon reasonable conditions: for, the arms of the king, like the lightning of heaven, hurt only where they find resistance, and were more influenced by the dictates of humanity, than by the incitements of revenge.

Having thus signified his sentiments, he ordered the prisoners to be unchained, and provided with a boat for their conveyance to Mexico by water; while they, scarce crediting the evidence of their own senses, threw themselves at his feet, and promised not only to make the emperor acquainted with his overtures, but also to contribute all in their power

power and interest in facilitating the peace. But, they never returned with any answer; nor indeed did the general believe this piece of condescension would have any other effect but that of justifying the war he had undertaken, and raising the reputation of his clemency among the barbarians.

About this time, Martin Lopez sent him word that the work of the brigantines being finished, he would quickly set forward with them; as the republic of Tlascala had provided ten thousand tamenes or porters, and two thousand to relieve those who should be tired, exclusive of such as were appointed to carry the provisions and ammunition, and twenty thousand soldiers who waited this opportunity to join the army; but, that he would stay in the last town of the Tlascalans for a convoy of Spaniards, because he did not think it adviseable to pass through the Mexican territories, without any other force or protection than that of the Indian allies. These tidings diffused a general joy through the army, and Cortes immediately ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to march with two hundred Spaniards, fifteen horse, and some companies of Tlascalans, towards the territories of the republic, where he would join the escorte, and conduct Lopez with his materials to Tezeuco. This officer halted one day in his route at Zulepeque, a small town which refused to submit, and was the very place where the poor Spaniards were betrayed and murdered in their way from Vera Cruz to Mexico. For these reasons, he had orders to chastise and reduce the inhabitants, who no sooner perceived the detachment, than they abandoned the place and fled to the mountains, whither they were pursued by four companies of Tlascalans, and a few Spaniards. Sandoval entering the town, found these words written with charcoal upon a wall: "In this house, the unhappy Juan Juste was taken, " with

“with many others his companions:” and afterwards discovered, in one of the temples, the heads of those Spaniards, dried in the fire to preserve them from corruption.

This horrible spectacle inspired the beholders with rage, and Sandoval resolved to revenge such execrable cruelty with the utmost rigour, when the companies he had detached in pursuit of the fugitives returned with a great number of men, women, and children, after having killed upon the mountains all those who refused to surrender. These miserable wretches, already half dead with fear, testified their repentance by tears and piteous outcries, while they prostrated themselves before the Spaniards, whom they quickly moved to compassion. Sandoval desired his officers to intercede with him in behalf of the prisoners, that they might set the greater value upon their pardon, which he granted accordingly, and received the submission of the cacique and principal citizens, who, in the sequel, fulfilled their engagements punctually, either through fear or acknowledgment.

The miserable remains of the murdered Spaniards being gathered together and decently interred, Gonzalo continued his march to the frontiers of Tlascala, where he was joyfully received by Martín Lopez, and a young officer called Chichemecal, who commanded the Tlascalán reinforcement, and could hardly be prevailed upon to wait for the Spanish detachment, so much was he puffed up with self-confidence, and inflamed with the desire of signalizing himself against the Mexicans. Sufficient time being allotted for the rest and refreshment of the men, Sandoval made the proper dispositions for marching back to Tezeuco, and Chichemecal finding himself stationed in the rear, took such umbrage at the supposed affront, that he could hardly be appeased, or persuaded to proceed, until

Gonzalo

Gonzalo condescended to march along with him, tho' not a little irritated by his arrogance and self-conceit. The vanguard was composed of part of the Spaniards and Tlascalans who had come from Tezeuco; the tamenes marching in rank and file with their burthens, and properly secured on the flanks, constituted the main body; and the rear was brought up by the new reinforcement. In this order, they proceeded through the Mexican territories, unmolested by the enemy, who frequently appeared in different bodies on the hills at a distance; and when they approached Tezeuco, they were met by Cortes and the king of that city, who came forth to receive them with equal joy and solemnity. They made their entrance altogether, amidst the acclamations of the people and the whole army; and the planks, iron-work, and other materials, were stored separately in a great work-house prepared for that purpose near the canals. The general being told by Martin Lopez that the vessels could not be finished in less than twenty days, resolved to employ that time in reconnoitring the country about the lake, securing proper posts, so as to prevent the enemy from receiving succours, and doing them other damage, as opportunity should offer. While he was busy in making preparations for this excursion, Chichemechal desired an audience, in which he complained of having lain inactive for the space of five whole days, and desired he might be immediately employed in some service that would exercise his courage and capacity. The general who was an enemy to presumption and self-conceit, and had been informed of this young man's troublesome impetuosity on the march from Tlascala, told him with an air of raillery, that he should very soon have an opportunity of assuaging his heroic ardour in an expedition of some importance; and that he himself would
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accompany him, and be an eye-witness of his exploits. Leaving the government of Tezeuco and the care of forwarding the brigantines to Sandoval, who seems to have enjoyed the chief share of his confidence, he, with Pedro de Alvarado, and Christoval de Olid, put himself at the head of a detachment, consisting of two hundred and fifty Spaniards, with twenty horse, a numerous body of the nobles of Tezeuco, the fifteen thousand Tlascalans who had arrived with Chichemecal, and about five thousand of those commanded by Xicotencal. With these, Cortes began his march towards Yaltocan, a town five leagues from Tezeuco, situated upon one of the little lakes which discharge themselves into the great lake of Mexico; resolving to reduce the place and chastise the inhabitants, who had returned an insolent answer, and even wounded the messengers whom he had lately sent to proffer peace, and require their obedience. At a small distance from the town, he found the Mexicans drawn up in order of battle; but, after the first discharge of the fire-arms and cross-bows, the horse fell in among them with such fury, that they were immediately put in disorder, and wholly defeated with great slaughter; yet the greatest part of them fled to the mountains, some threw themselves into the lake, others retreated to Yaltocan, and a number being taken prisoners, were sent in fetters to Tezeuco.

The assault upon the town being deferred till next day, the army passed the night in some houses near the field of battle, and early in the morning, they found the enterprize much more difficult than they had imagined; for, the town was situated in the lake, and wholly surrounded with water, and the bridge or causeway of communication broke down; so that Cortes would have found it impracticable to carry the place, had not one of the Indians

ans of Tezeuco informed him, that a little higher up the lake was fordable. He forthwith ordered two companies of Spaniards, supported by a sufficient number of the allies, to pass over, and they performed this dangerous service in the face of the enemy, who defended the passage with great resolution, annoying the Spaniards with slings and arrows, and obliging every man to fight while the water was up to his middle: but when the Mexicans were repulsed from the shore, and saw the assailants drawing up in a plain that skirted the town, they retired with such precipitation to their canoes, that the place was left unguarded, and the Spaniards entered without opposition. The pillage, which was permitted as punishment upon the inhabitants, did not last long, because nothing was left in the houses but what could not be carried off: some loads, however, of corn and salt were transported to the army, together with a good quantity of cotton cloths, and some jewels which the owners had neglected to secrete. The officers having set fire to the principal temples, in order to strike terror into the fugitives, and be an example and warning to the neighbouring towns, repassed the water by the same ford, and the army continuing its march, rested that night near Colbatitlan, which next day was found without inhabitants; as were also Tenayuca, and Escapuzalco, towns situated upon the lake, in each of which places Cortes lodged one night, in order to make proper observations, and afterwards quitted them, without suffering any damage to be done to the buildings, that the Indians might see he never used rigour but when he met with resistance. From this last town, the general advanced towards Tacuba, which was a post of great importance, as being, of all the towns upon the lake, the nearest to Mexico, and equal to Tezeuco in extent and number of inhabitants:

not that he had any hopes of reducing it at present, but his design was to reconnoitre ; that from the remarks he should make, he might form a more feasible scheme for attacking it in the sequel. When he approached the town, he perceived a vast multitude of the enemy drawn up in their order of battle, and in a moment, they poured upon him with their usual impetuosity ; but, after several ineffectual efforts, they turned their backs and were pursued with great slaughter. The Spaniards remained all night in the field of battle, and next morning, were again assaulted by the enemy ; who being easily routed and flying into the town, some of the Spaniards and allies entered with them pell-mell, and maintained the fight within the city, until night approaching, the general called them off, after having ordered them to set fire to the houses, that the enemy being employed, they might retreat without opposition. During five days that he staid in this place, he was frequently attacked by the Indians, who were always repulsed to the city with great loss ; so that he began to entertain hopes of carrying the town, after the garrison should be wasted by these diurnal sallies. At length, he observed a considerable body of Mexicans advancing on the causey, and having allowed part of them to pass and draw up on the main land, he charged them with such fury, that after a faint resistance, they fled towards the causey, and he following with too much precipitation, fell into the snare they had laid : for, his troops were no sooner hampered on this narrow pavement, than the Mexicans faced about to keep them in play, while innumerable canoes sallied out of Mexico and invested both sides of the causey ; so that the Spaniards were at once attacked in front, flank, and rear, and many of the assailants armed with long spears, pointed with the swords belonging to the unfortunate soldiers who had

had been killed and taken in the retreat. Cortes in this emergency, formed a front every way, and made great havock among the Mexicans, and at length brought off his troops with little loss, tho' a good number of them were wounded, and a pair of colours in imminent danger: for, in the heat of the engagement, ensign Juan Volante, being pushed into the lake, was seized by the Indians, who put him into a canoe, intending to present him alive to the emperor: but when he found himself at a distance from the rest of these boats, he recovered his arms, slew those by whom he was guarded, and throwing himself into the lake, swam ashore with his colours. Cortes seeing the difficulty of reducing Tacuba, now strengthened by such a reinforcement of Mexicans, desisted from the enterprize, and retreated to Tezeuco, where he was visited by the caciques of Tucapan, Macalzingo, Autlan, and other towns upon the north-side of the lake, who came to make their submission, and offer their alliance. But, what pleased him above all these offers, was a supply which he received in a vessel that arrived at Vera Cruz, from St. Domingo, containing a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, with Julian de Alderete, in the character of king's treasurer, and several Spanish soldiers of distinction, who immediately marched to Tlascala, where they were provided with an escorte that conducted them to Tezeuco.

C H A P. XXX.

The several towns about the lake of, and leading to, Mexico, are by turns subdued; Cortes is taken prisoner by the Mexicans, but set at liberty by Christoval de Olea; a plot against the general's life concerted by some Spaniards, is seasonably discovered by one of the abettors of it; the principal conspirator is hanged; one of the Indian chiefs deserts, and is killed in his flight.

ABOUT this time, messengers arrived in great haste from the caciques of Chalco and Thumanalco, to demand succour against a powerful army of Mexicans, which was assembled to chastise all the towns that adhered to the Spaniards; and Sandoval being detached to their relief with three hundred Spaniards, twenty horse, and some companies of Tlascalans, was joined by their own troops, which amounted to a very considerable body. The Mexicans had fortified themselves in some hollow ways, from whence they were driven sword in hand; and in a little time after their retreat, another body of fifteen thousand advancing in good order, with their drums beating, and shells blowing, met with such a warm reception from the fire-arms and horse, that they were soon routed and fled in great confusion to the town of Guastepeque, which they looked upon as a place of security. Nevertheless, the Spaniards entered with them pell-mell, and dividing themselves into the several streets, drove out the enemy with terrible slaughter.

In this place, which was very spacious, Sandoval resolved to pass the night, and the victory was the more agreeable to his soldiers, as they

were allowed to plunder: it was not long before the cacique and principal inhabitants came to make their submission, and laid the whole blame upon the Mexicans, who had compelled them to make resistance: Gonzalo convinced of their sincerity, took them into his protection; and next day, when he was going to set out on his return, he received information from the people of Chalco, that the Mexicans who had escaped from the last two engagements, were assembled at Capistlan, two leagues from Guastapeque, on the side of Mexico. Sandoval thinking it necessary to disperse this body of fugitives before they could be reinforced, marched immediately to the place, which being situated on the top of an high rock, was very strong by nature, and extremely difficult of access. The Mexicans covered the whole eminence, and trusting to its situation, provoked the Spaniards with loud outcries and reproaches; and indeed it was judged such a difficult enterprize, that when Sandoval ordered the troops of Tlascala and Chalco to advance, as being accustomed to those rugged passes, they did not obey with that alacrity which they had expressed on other occasions, until Gonzalo perceiving their backwardness, put himself at the head of the Spaniards, and began to mount the hill. His example animated the Indian allies to such a degree, that they clambered up the rocks with surprizing intrepidity, notwithstanding the stones which were rolled down, and the darts and arrows discharged by the Mexicans, who, seeing at length, how little their situation and efforts availed them, retired with marks of despondence into the town, which, however, they did not attempt to defend. In a word, they were driven to the edge of the precipice, and all who did not fling themselves down were put to the sword, with such dreadful slaughter, that streams
of

of blood flowed into the river that ran at the bottom of the rock, and wholly changed the colour of its water.

Sandoval, whose armour was shattered in several pieces during the assault, having in these three victories destroyed the Mexican army to a man, began his retreat next day to Tezeuco; and his back was no sooner turned, than the emperor of Mexico sent a new army into the province of Chalco, to cut off the communication between the Spaniards and Tlascala. The Chalqueses being now left to themselves, assembled a body of their own troops, and engaging the enemy, obtained a complete victory, after a very desperate action, in which great numbers were killed on both sides.

As the brigantines were not yet finished, Cortes resolved to penetrate in person as far as Suchimilco, a town of great importance upon the lake, furnished with a broad causeway, which joined those that led to Mexico, that he might make observations, cover the passage to Tlascala, and animate the people of Chalco, who were apprehensive of new invasions. He left the military command of Tezeuco with Sandoval and the Civil, with the cacique Don Hernando, who was always submissive and affectionate, and began his march April the 5th, 1521, accompanied by Christoval de Olid, Pedro de Alvarado, Andres de Tapia, and Juan de Alderete, with three hundred Spaniards, and a large body of allies. This was a very seasonable relief to the Chalqueses, who had discovered on the side of Suchimilco, a new army of Mexicans, who threatened to ravage and subdue their whole country. The confederate caciques were assembled in the city of Chalco, in order to deliberate upon measures for their preservation against this formidable armament, which was much more powerful than the last; and when Cortes arrived so unexpectedly,

unexpectedly, and, in such a critical conjuncture, they were transported with joy, fell at his feet with demonstrations of the utmost gratitude, and lifted up their eyes to heaven, with praise and thanksgiving for this interposition in their favour. Hernan being informed by the Indian scouts, that the Mexicans had taken possession of some steep, and almost inaccessible mountains, on the way to Suchimilco, resolved to dislodge them without delay; and a considerable reinforcement of the allies having joined his army, he marched that same night to a town deserted by its inhabitants, in which he passed the night. At day-break, as he entered the mountainous country, by a narrow and difficult path between two ridges of rocks, the Mexicans shewed themselves on the tops of the eminences on both sides; and the army marched slowly on, filing off as the nature of the ground required, until they reached an opening, where the general ordered the men to be formed, and to attack a considerable fortress situated on the top of a rock, from which the enemy, in great numbers, provoked the Spaniards with insulting language. On this occasion, he rashly gave way to the suggestions of anger, and without staying to choose the least difficult path, commanded Pedro de Barba, and Bernal Diaz de Castillo, with two companies of musqueteers and cross-bows to begin the attack. The enemy retired at first in seeming confusion, until the Spaniards had mounted to the most dangerous part of the precipice, then they returned with horrible outcries, and rolled down a dreadful torrent of great stones, and even intire rocks, which bore down every thing in their way. The general seeing the impossibility of succeeding, and the ruin to which his men were exposed, sent orders for them to desist, and they retreated with the loss of four Spaniards killed upon the spot, besides

besides a number of wounded, among whom was Pedro de Barba; and many others would have shared the same fate, had not Bernal Diaz de Castillo lodged them under the projection of a rock, until the shower of stones was over.

Cortes, not a little mortified at this disgrace, which was owing to his own imprudence, resolved to search out a less dangerous path, by which he might ascend the mountain and revenge the loss he had sustained; but, was diverted from his purpose by a piece of intelligence, importing, that the enemy had laid an ambuscade in a wood near the road, in order to attack the rear of the Spaniards when they should be engaged in the defilées. He forthwith ordered the army to march, laying open his flanks, in order to allure the Mexicans; but, all of a sudden, he turned short upon them, tho' he could not do them much damage, because they fled so nimbly, and were favoured by the thickness of the woods; at the same time, those above abandoned their fortification, and followed the Spaniards at a distance, upon the tops of the mountains; so that Cortes pursued his march, without any other opposition, for a league and a half, when he perceived another fortress of the same kind, garrisoned with the enemy, which, however, he did not think proper to assault; but encamped near a forsaken village on the top of an eminence, where the soldiers suffered greatly from want of water. In the morning, they found some springs in the neighbourhood, and the general, in reconnoitring the enemy's post, which was more inaccessible than the former, observed an eminence within musquet-shot, which they had neglected to occupy. This was immediately seized by Verdugo, Barba, and Alderete, with the musketeers, who made such a successful fire upon the Mexicans, that, terrified at the unexpected discharge, they

instantly retired to a considerable town adjoining to the fortrefs, from which they likewise fled to the more distant parts of the country. They had no sooner abandoned the town and fort, than several women appeared on the top of the hill, hanging out white cloths, which they waved up and down in token of peace; and the cacique coming down, assured the general that neither he nor his people were concerned in the hostilities which were committed by the Mexicans, and submitted his town and fort to the jurisdiction of the Spaniards, who took possession of it in the name of the emperor. This ceremony being performed, the army marched on to Gualtepeque, and before they reached that populous town, the cacique, with the principal inhabitants, came forth to meet Cortes, whom he invited to lodge with the Spaniards in his own palace, which might even have vied with those of Motezuma in magnificence, and was furnished with a spacious and delightful garden, which the Spaniards beheld with admiration, as one of the wonders of that new world.

They had not, however, much time to enjoy the beauties of this place; for, the general receiving intelligence that the enemy had halted at Quatlavaca, in order to dispute his passage, he ordered the army to march for that town, which was strong and populous, situated between two deep barrancas or hollow ways, filled with the water that descended from the mountains. The Mexicans had cut down the bridges, and covered the banks with such a number of men, that the passage seemed impracticable; nevertheless, Cortes, having drawn up his army on the other side, from hence they plied the enemy with fire-arms and arrows, ordered two or three bridges to be made of long trees, which being laid across at a place below, where the barranca was narrower, afforded
a passage

a passage for the infantry. Here, however, as they passed, they were attacked with such fury, and in such prodigious numbers, that they could hardly keep their ground, and were in the most imminent danger, when Cortes, Olid, Alvarado, and Tapia came to their assistance with the horse, which they had made shift to bring over with great difficulty and danger. These, together with some Spaniards and Tlascalans, who crossed at a third place, under the direction of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, charged the Mexicans in the rear with such valour and impetuosity, that they were immediately disordered, routed, and pursued to the mountains with great slaughter; while the town being abandoned by the inhabitants, was plundered by the soldiers: but the cacique, with the principal citizens, calling from the other side of the barranca, and begging with great humility, that they might be allowed to return, and prepare quarters for the Spaniards, Cortes granted their request, and accepted their submission.

Early next morning, he took the road of Suchimilco, seated on the edge of a fresh water lake, communicating with the great lake, the buildings of which town were partly in the water, and partly on the land. The first day's march was very troublesome through a long defilée, and a dry, barren country, where the soldiers suffered greatly from the excessive heat and want of water. At night they quartered in some farm-houses near the road, and, at day-break, Cortes drew up his men in order of battle, and proceeded on his march, rightly supposing he should meet with strong opposition in the reduction of such an important post. Accordingly, as he approached the place, he perceived the Mexican battalions drawn up in a plain that skirted the town, with a river in their front, the banks of which they had double lined

with foldiers, tho' their main body was difpofed for the defence of a wooden bridge, which they had barricadoed with planks and fascines, hoping to destroy the Spaniards in that narrow pafs.

The general having extended the troops of the allies along the river, to keep the enemy in play with their miffile weapons, ordered the Spaniards to advance and attack the bridge, which they gained, after having fuffered two repulfes; and the Mexicans were fo difcouraged at the lofs of it, that they began to fly with great diforder; fo that their commanders were fain to found a retreat. The Spaniards immediately formed on the ground which the enemy had quitted, and being joined by fome bodies of the allies who had fwam the river, they advanced towards the Mexicans who had halted near the town, and charged them with fuch fury, that they retired into the city, at the gates of which they loft great numbers, in confequence of their hurry and precipitation. Cortes leaving part of his troops to fecure a retreat, entered pell-mell with the fugitives, and ordering fome companies to fcour the ftreets to the right and left, he himfelf attacked the principal barricado, which was defended by the greateft force of the enemy. This he with fome difficulty furmounted, and, impelled by the tranfports of his courage, threw himfelf into the midft of a multitude, by whom he was fingly furrounded, and his retreat effectually cut off. In this emergency, he performed miracles of valour, until his horfe falling, he was overpowered, and apprehended before he could make ufe of his arms. Nothing faved his life but the great defire the Mexicans had to take him alive, as a prefent to their emperor; and before they could carry him off, he was reftored to his liberty by the valour of Chriftoval de Olea, a foldier of diftinguifhed prowefs, who feeing the diftrefs of his general,



The City of Mexico

Tho: Jefferys Sculp

general, put himself at the head of some Tlascallans who were near him, and forced his way to the spot, where, with his own hand, he slew the Mexicans who had seized Cortes. And he having thus regained his liberty, at the expence of two slight wounds, pushed the enemy with their reinforcement so vigorously, that they escaped to the part of the city built in the water, and left the Spaniards masters of all the streets upon the firm land. During this engagement in the town, the troops without the gates commanded by Olid, Alvarado, and Tapia, were attacked by a reinforcement of ten thousand chosen men, sent in canoes from Mexico, under leaders of approved valour, who fought for some time with great obstinacy, but were at length obliged to reembark with considerable loss; tho' not before they had wounded the three captains, besides a good number of Spanish and Tlascalan soldiers.

Cortes, being now master of all the streets and buildings on the firm land, posted sufficient guards at the water-side, quartered his troops in some great porticoes, and ordered an officer, with twenty or thirty Spaniards, to keep watch on the top of the principal temple, which overlooked the city, country, and lake. These, about the close of the evening, gave notice, that they discovered about two thousand armed canoes advancing with great speed from Mexico; the guards at the landing-places were immediately doubled, and in the morning the enemy disembarked at a great distance from the city, to the number of fifteen thousand men. Cortes immediately marched out, and charged them with such impetuosity, that they were routed at the first attack, and a great number of them put to the sword; and having continued at Suchimilco four days, for the recovery of his wounded men, he retreated to Tezeuco, in good order, with the

satisfaction of having accomplished the purpose of his expedition, which was to reconnoitre this city, and break the force and spirit of the enemy, before he should undertake the siege of Mexico: yet this satisfaction was in some measure allayed by the reflection of having lost nine or ten Spaniards; for, besides these who were killed at the first assault of the mountains, three or four were taken alive, in pillaging one of the houses of Suchimilco, and two servants fell into an ambuscade, by imprudently separating from the army in their retreat.

The brigantines being now ready, and the canal sufficiently enlarged, great quantities of arms were made for the Indians, an exact account taken of all the stores, the artillery proved, the supplies of provision regulated, and a day appointed for the confederate caciques to appear with their troops at the rendezvous: but, in the midst of these preparations, a conspiracy was formed against the life of the general, which was the more dangerous, as being hatched among the Spaniards. A soldier, who had been long in the service, came to him one day, and, with marks of fear and concern, desired a private audience; which being granted, he gave him a minute detail of the conspiracy which had been formed in his absence. The chief contriver and agent in this treacherous design was one Antonio de Villafana, who being tired of the fatigues and perils of war, first gave vent to his uneasiness in murmurs and complaints against the general, whom he did not scruple to accuse of obstinacy and rashness. Finding his insinuations agreeably received by some of his fellow-soldiers, he expressed a desire of relinquishing the enterprize and returning to Cuba; and, as this retreat could not possibly be effected without the consent of Cortes, he, after having sufficiently sounded his confederates, imparted to them a scheme for assassinating the general

ral and all his principal officers, except Francisco Verdugo, who had married a sister of Diego de Velasquez: upon him they proposed to confer the chief command, a step which would give a sanction to their mutiny, and be highly agreeable to the governor of Cuba; and, although they knew Verdugo to be a man of honour attached to Cortes, they concluded he would not venture to refuse the command, lest greater mischief should ensue, and in the mean time they determined to keep him ignorant of their intention. The conspirators used to meet at the lodgings of Villafana, where they signed a writing, in which they obliged themselves to follow and support that traitor in the execution of his horrible scheme; in a word, the affair was managed with such dexterity, that the number of subscribers daily increased; and they agreed to stab Cortes with his friends at table, on pretence of going in together to hear the news of a packet from Vera Cruz, which should be feigned for the purpose. The general having received this intelligence from the soldier, who had engaged in the conspiracy, went immediately with two alcaldes and some of his captains to secure Villafana, whom he found in his quarters, with three or four of his accomplices. His guilt was evident from his confusion at sight of Cortes, who having put him in irons, and ordered every body to retire, on pretence of examining him in private, took out of his bosom the paper signed by all the conspirators, in which list he found some names that greatly augmented his concern. However, he concealed his discovery even from his friends, caused the accomplices who were found in the apartment to be imprisoned apart, and left instructions with the officers of justice to proceed with all secrecy and dispatch upon the trial of Villafana, who immediately confessed his crime, and was seen next morning hanging at the window

of his quarters; so that his guilt and punishment were made public at the same time. But, as this was no time to satisfy justice with the lives of so many Spaniards, Cortes gave out that Villafana had swallowed a paper, torn in pieces, which in all probability contained the names of the conspirators: then assembling his captains and soldiers, he gave them a summary account of the design, pretended to think himself happy in not knowing Villafana's accomplices, and intreated his friends to inquire whether or not the Spaniards complained of his proceedings, that he might correct his own faults, and give them reasonable satisfaction.—He afterwards released the soldiers who had been apprehended with the traitor, and behaved to the rest of the conspirators without any change in his countenance or conduct; so that they were fully persuaded he was ignorant of their crime, and served in the sequel with extraordinary diligence and circumspection, in order to avert any suspicion of their fidelity.

This danger being so happily surmounted, by the consummate prudence of the general, he was, in a few days, perplexed with another affair that gave him no little disturbance and chagrin. Xicotencal, whose mind still retained the seeds of animosity against Cortes, having, in all probability, conceived some new disgust, retreated in the night with some companies of Tlascalans who were attached to his fortune; and Cortes, being informed of his defection by his own countrymen, sent some noble Indians of Tezeuco, to persuade him to return. But, his answer to the general being obstinate, brutal, and contemptuous, three companies of Spaniards, reinforced with Tezeucans and Chalqueses, were sent in pursuit of this deserter, with orders to take him prisoner, and kill him in case of resistance. As he defended himself to the last, it was impracti-

impracticable to take him alive, and he no sooner fell, than his soldiers, who fought with reluctance, submitted and returned to Tezeuco, leaving their leader hanging on a tree. Nor did his death occasion the least coldness between Cortes and the republic; for he had made the senate previously acquainted with the insolent and capricious conduct of their general, and been desired, and even urged by that body to treat him with all the rigour of military discipline; even his own father joined in this request, and corresponded with Hernan, after his son's death, with all the cordiality of their former friendship.

These disturbances were no sooner composed, than the general ordered his brigantines to be launched and rigged, and then reviewed his Spaniards, who amounted to nine hundred men, of whom near two hundred used fire-arms and cross-bows, the rest were armed with sword, buckler, and lance; besides these he had eighty six horse, and eighteen pieces of cannon, with plenty of ammunition; and twenty men were put on board of each vessel, under the command of a captain, with six rowers and one piece of artillery.

C H A P. XXXI.

Cortes's brigantines are launched upon the lake, while some of his people approach the city of Mexico by land; his vessels are attacked by four thousand canoes; the most of which are destroyed, and the lake entirely cleared of the enemy; the general offers peace to the emperor, whom the priests prevent from accepting it; the neglect of Cortes's officers in one particular almost ruins all his designs; Mexico is blocked up and suffers considerably by famine.

THINGS being thus disposed, he divided his army into three bodies, that he might at the same time make himself master of the causeways of Tacuba, Iztapalapa, and Cuyocan, without making any attempt upon Suchimilco, which was too remote. The expedition of Tecuba was committed to Pedro de Alvarado, who had under his command an hundred and fifty Spanish foot, and thirty horse, together with thirty thousand Tlascalans, and two pieces of artillery. The attack of Cuyocan was assigned to Christoval de Olid, with an hundred and sixty Spaniards, two pieces of cannon, and thirty thousand confederate Indians: and the attempt upon Iztapalapa was left to Gonzalo de Sandoval, who commanded an hundred and fifty Spaniards, with two pieces of artillery, four and twenty horse, and all the troops of Chalco, Guacocingo, and Cholula, amounting to above forty thousand men.

Olid and Alvarado marched together as far as Tacuba, which was abandoned by all the inhabitants: those who were able to bear arms having retired to Mexico for the defence of that capital, and the rest fled to the mountains with their most valuable

able effects. Here the two Spanish captains having received intelligence, that the Mexicans had formed a considerable body, within half a league of the city, to cover the aqueducts which came from the mountains of Chapultepeque, they marched thither, and, after a most obstinate action, drove the enemy from their post, and broke the pipes and aqueduct in two or three places; so that the water took its natural course into the lake.

This exploit being atchieved, Olid marched on with his division to Cuyocan, while Cortes took upon himself the command on the lake, and embarked with Don Fernando lord of Tezeuco, and his brother, who was afterwards baptized by the name of Carlos; but this step the general did not take without having first left a sufficient number of troops to cover his place of arms, and secure the communication of his quarters. The brigantines being drawn up in a line, and adorned with flags and streamers, in order to captivate the admiration of the enemy, Cortes directed them to approach Mexico, that he might shew himself master of the lake; and in his return, perceiving a pretty strong castle, situated in a small island, from whence the Mexicans provoked him with abusive language, he resolved to chastise their insolence in sight of the city, the terraces and balconies of which were filled with a prodigious concourse of people. Drawing near the shore of this island, therefore, he landed with an hundred and fifty Spaniards, who taking three different paths, mounted, in spite of a very vigorous opposition, and drove the enemy into the castle, where being so crouded that they had not room to manage their arms, they were obliged to submit; and Cortes spared the lives of those who surrendered. The Spaniards having re-embarked, and the brigantines directing their course towards Iztapalapa, in order to assist Gonzalo de Sandoval,

Sandoval, they saw a fleet of canoes assembling on the lake, from Mexico and other neighbouring places; the first that came out advanced a little, and waited for their fellows, until the number was augmented to four thousand, exhibiting a most beautiful and terrific shew of arms and feathers, which seemed to cover the lake. Cortes extending his front in the form of an half-moon, advanced towards the enemy, and then ordered his men to lie upon their oars and rest themselves, that they might engage with the greater force, for the weather was so calm they could not use their sails. The Mexicans, in this particular, followed the example of the Spaniards; but, a breeze of wind springing up all of a sudden, and taking the brigantines in stern, they began the attack with their artillery at a distance, and then ran foul of the canoes with such force as overset all that stood in their way, while the fire-arms and cross-bows made terrible havock, and the smoke blinded the enemy to such a degree that they did not know which way to turn. The nobles of Mexico, who had manned the first five hundred canoes, made some opposition; but most of them being destroyed, the rest was all confusion and disorder; they ran foul of one another, so that the greatest part of them foundered; a vast number of men perished, and the brigantines pursuing the remains with their cannon-shot, forced them to take shelter in the canals of the city of Mexico. After this victory, Hernan sailed about the city, into which he fired some shot by way of triumph, while the affrighted Mexicans deplored their loss with loud lamentations, and considered the vessels of the Christians as so many impregnable floating castles.

The general passed the night near Tezeuco; and in the morning, when he was on the point of sailing to Iztapalapa, he discovered a great number of
canoes

canoes making towards Cuyocan; and, though he could not overtake them, he arrived at a very critical conjuncture, when Christoval de Olid was engaged on the causeway, and so hard pressed on each side by the canoes, that he could hardly keep the ground he had gained. The Mexicans had drawn up the bridges of the causeways towards the city, and fortified them with barricadoes of planks and timbers, so as to render them almost inaccessible to the Spaniards, who were obliged to demolish and clear those defences by means of their cross-bows, fire-arms and artillery, until the ditch could be filled up with fascines, and the ruins of its own fortification. At the sight of the brigantines, all the canoes on that side of the causey fled with precipitation; but those on the other side still continuing the engagement, Cortes ordered the ditch in Olid's rear to be widened, for the passage of three or four brigantines; upon which the enemy retired in disorder to the last rampart next the city. The troops passed the night upon the causeway, without abandoning the ground they had gained, and in the morning continued their march with little or no opposition, until they approached the last bridge, which was fortified with strong works and trenches cut in the streets, and defended by an enormous multitude of people. The artillery from the brigantines made a miserable slaughter of the Mexicans, who were in crowds at the openings of the streets, while Christoval de Olid having ruined the fortification of the causeway, and filled up the ditch, charged the defendants, who made such an obstinate resistance, that Cortes, impatient of delay, landed with thirty Spaniards, and soon compelled them to abandon the works, and leave the chief street of Mexico unguarded. The fugitives took possession of a temple in the neighbourhood, covering the towers, stairs, and outside in such a manner,

manner, that it looked like an hill of arms and feathers; and from this post they defied the Spaniards with as much insolence as they could have expressed if they had been conquerors; but they were soon dislodged by two or three pieces of cannon landed for that purpose; that whole quarter was forsaken, the idols were burned, and the temple afforded quarters to the troops. Cortes expressed a desire of fortifying himself in this post, but was dissuaded by his captains, who represented that they would run the risque of losing the passage of the causeway, by which they must receive their ammunition and provision, because the brigantines could not enter the water-trenches of that part; and, should the provision and stores be landed at a distance, they could not be conveyed to the quarters without a battle for every supply; and that the plan of the attack, by three divisions, which had already been agreed upon, ought not to be changed, without some very good reason or prospect of advantage.

Convinced by this remonstrance, he, in the morning, retired to Cuyocan, from whence he proceeded to Iztapalapa, where he found Gonzalo de Sandoval reduced to the last extremity. He had possessed himself of the buildings on the land, and made great havock among the enemy, who endeavoured to annoy him from their canoes: he had ruined some houses, overthrown two or three reinforcements from Mexico, and the Indians having abandoned a large building near the land, he resolved to seize it, in order to enlarge his quarters, and drive the enemy to a greater distance. This scheme he effected by means of fascines; but, he had no sooner entered with some of his people, than a great number of canoes, which had lain in ambush, advanced, with troops of swimmers, who flung themselves into the water, took away the fascines,

scines, and having thus cut off his retreat, besieged him on all sides, shooting at his men from the terraces and windows of the neighbouring houses.

In this distress he was found by Cortes, who perceiving that vast number of canoes in the water-streets, ordered his brigantines to advance, and played his artillery with such good success, that the enemy fled in great confusion; those who were upon the terraces crowding into the canoes, sunk a great number, and the rest fell in among the brigantines, in their flight; so that the forces of the Mexicans were considerably diminished by this day's action: the city was subdued, many prisoners made, and the soldiers obtained a considerable booty. Cortes, perceiving it would be impracticable to make use of this causey, without first ruining that half of Iztapalapa which was the retreat of the Mexican canoes, an expedient which would create some delay, resolved to quit the post, and detach Sandoval to Tapcaquilla, where there was another causeway, the possession of which would more effectually hinder the Mexicans from being supplied with provision, which they already began to want. This design was immediately executed by Gonzalo, who found the place forsaken, and lodged himself in it without resistance. Then the general sailed to Tacuba, to visit Alvarado, who had met with various success. The place was deserted at his approach: in his progress he had, like Christoval de Olid, beaten down works, filled up ditches, done the enemy considerable damage, and, at one time, advanced so far, as to set fire to some houses in Mexico; but, in the course of these expeditions, he had lost eight Spaniards.

Cortes, considering that this method of attacking and retreating, served only to consume time, without being attended with any great advantage, resolved to change his plan, and put a stop to all operations

operations by land, until he should make himself absolutely master of the lake, from which his men had been continually persecuted in their advances of the causeways. For this purpose, he sent for all the canoes belonging to the allied towns, which being manned with expert Indians, formed a fleet which was terrible to the enemy; these he divided into squadrons, commanded by officers of their own nation, and distributed them among the brigantines, four of which he sent to Sandoval, as many staid with Alvarado, and he himself, with the other five, joined Christoval de Olid. This disposition being made, they cruized continually up and down the lake, and along the three causeys; by which means a stop was put to the insults of the enemy, and many vessels loaded with provision and water were taken; so that the besieged were reduced to great distress.

These difficulties seemed only to whet their courage and invention: they, by round-about ways, sent canoes of pioneers to clear the ditches which the Spaniards had filled up, that they might be embarrassed in their retreat; they, contrary to their old custom, made sallies by night, in order to fatigue the besiegers: and, lastly, they built thirty large vessels called piraguas, strengthened with planks, to shelter them from the shot in time of engagement. With this fleet they sallied forth in the night, and lay in ambush behind a grove of reeds in the lake, which effectually concealed them from their view. In order to decoy the brigantines which used to cruize about the lake, by two and two at a time, they had provided three or four canoes laden with provision, for a bait, and fixed a number of large stakes in the water, to destroy or encumber the brigantines; so as that they might board them with a better prospect of advantage.

Next

Next day, according to their expectation, two of the brigantines that attended Sandoval began their cruize, under the command of Pedro de Barba and Juan Portillo; and the Mexicans sent out their canoes another way, which being seen at a distance, pretended to fly and retire among the reeds; and the brigantines giving chase, soon fell in among the hidden stakes, where they were so embarrassed that they could neither move backwards nor forwards. Then the piraguas came from their lurking-places, and attacked them with such desperate fury, that the Spaniards were obliged to employ the utmost efforts of their courage, and must have infallibly perished, had not some expert swimmers, by main strength of arms, hatchets, and other tools, removed the stakes, and made room for the brigantines, which having regained their liberty, kept such a fire upon the enemy, that almost all their piraguas were sunk, and the rest pursued towards Mexico, with great slaughter. But, this victory was not obtained before the brigantines had received great damage; many Spaniards were dangerously hurt, Juan Portillo was killed, and Pedro de Barba died three days after of his wounds, to the inexpressible regret of Cortes, who lost in him a trusty friend, and an excellent officer.

It was not long before this disaster was revenged upon the Mexicans, who concealed themselves a second time among the reeds, on the supposition that the Spaniards would again fall into the snare. Cortes, having received intelligenc of their design, ordered six brigantines to sheer off in the night, and lie in ambush among another parcel of reeds not far from the ambuscade of the enemy: in consequence of his instructions, one of these began her cruize in the morning, seemingly in quest of canoes laden with provisions, and discovering the piraguas

as it were by accident, stood off immediately, and pretended to fly towards the place of the counter-ambuscade. She was immediately pursued by the piraguas, the Mexicans on board paddling and shouting with great alacrity, until, being at a convenient distance, the other brigantines sallied forth, and gave them such a terrible salute with their artillery, that they were almost all sunk at the first discharge, and most of their men perished.

Cortes, understanding from the prisoners, that the besieged began to murmur at the want of provision, water, and other necessaries, resolved to exert his utmost diligence in cutting off all relief from the city; and, in the mean time, he sent two Mexican noblemen with a message to Guatimozin, offering to leave him in possession of his Mexican empire, provided he would acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of Spain, which had been authenticated in the most solemn manner, during the reign of his predecessors.

In consequence of this proposal, the emperor assembled his council, to whom he communicated the offers of the Spanish general, and at the same time described the deplorable situation of Mexico; so that his ministers and officers unanimously advised him to receive the overtures of Cortes towards an accommodation. But this favourable disposition was destroyed by the remonstrances of the priests, who pretended to have received auspicious responses from their idols, and encouraged them with assurance of victory and success. These insinuations and promises animated the nobles to such a pitch of hope and enthusiasm, that they set the Spaniards at defiance, and Guatimozin declared that he would put to death the first man who should in the sequel give the least hint of peace, whatever extremity they should undergo.

The

The general, being informed of this determination, resolved to push on his hostilities, until he should have carried fire and sword into the very heart of the city; and, having sent orders for this purpose to the commanders of the two attacks of Tacuba and Tapcaquilla, he himself, at the appointed time, marched by the causeway of Cuyocan, at the head of the troops commanded by Cristoval de Olid. The enemy had cleared the ditches as before, and cast up works, which however were soon demolished by the brigantines; so that the troops advanced, without any considerable opposition, to the last bridge, where they found part of the causeway broke down, to enlarge the ditch; and, on the opposite bank, a huge fortification, defended by a prodigious multitude. This, however, was soon destroyed by the artillery, which made such havoc that the enemy retired into the city, and the shore being left free, Cortes immediately landed his men, horse, and three pieces of cannon, by means of the brigantines and confederate canoes. But, before he advanced into the streets, he ordered the treasurer Julian de Alderete to stay behind, in order to fill up and secure the ditch, while the brigantines were directed to approach the scene of action by the great canals, and fire upon the enemy. Alderete no sooner heard the battle begun, than looking upon the office in which he was engaged as a dishonourable piece of service, followed the troops into the engagement, and left the care of filling up the ditch to another officer, who likewise abandoned it for the same reason.

The Mexicans stood the first charge with great resolution behind their trenches and barricadoes, and did the Spaniards considerable damage from their windows and terraces; when all of a sudden the action ceased, and they hastily quitted the ground which they had hitherto disputed with such

obstinate

obstinate valour. This unexpected cessation was owing to an order of Guatimozin, who being informed that the great ditch was relinquished by the Spaniards, commanded his officers to preserve their troops to fall upon the enemy in their retreat. Cortes immediately suspected their design, and having barely time enough to return to his quarters before night, he began his retreat, after having set fire to some houses from which he had sustained some damage in his attack. But they had scarce wheeled about when their ears were startled with the dismal sound of the sacred trumpet, which none but the priests were permitted to blow, and they only on the most emergent occasions, as the immediate heralds of their gods. The tone was vehemently loud, strong, and discordant, inspiring those barbarians with desperate rage and enthusiastic fury, which first broke forth in hideous outcries, and afterwards appeared in the action. An incredible number of their chosen warriors, picked for the occasion, attacked the rear which was brought up by the Spaniards, and fought with such intrepidity, that the fire-arms and cross-bows had no effect upon their courage. Cortes understanding the misfortune of the ditch, endeavoured to form his battalions, but found the task impracticable, because the confederates, who being in the front, first arrived at the ditch, threw themselves into it, with such confusion, that his orders were either not heard or neglected. Some got over to the causeway in the brigantines and canoes, but a much greater number plunged into the water, where they were destroyed by whole companies of Mexican swimmers. As for the general, who was left with some of his own people to maintain the fight, his horse was killed under him with arrows, and captain Francisco de Guzman alighting to accommodate him, was taken prisoner, without
any

any possibility of being rescued. At length he was taken on board of the brigantines, and returned to his quarters, wounded and extremely mortified, notwithstanding the great slaughter he had made among the Mexicans; for a thousand Tlascalans were killed in the action, above forty Spaniards were taken alive, and of those that remained, scarce one had escaped unwounded.

Sandoval and Alvarado, who entered the city by different ways at the same time, met with almost the same success. They gained bridges, filled up ditches, destroyed houses, and were set upon in their retreat; but, as they had not the great ditch in their rear, they did not lose above twenty Spaniards. Alderete, sensible of his offence, hastened to the presence of Cortes, and offered his head as an atonement for his crime; but, as it was no time to make such examples of severity, his punishment was limited to a very sharp reprimand. The operations of war were suspended, and the siege turned to a blockade, until the wounds of the soldiers could be cured, and some new plan concerted for annoying the enemy.

The Mexicans celebrated their victory with great rejoicings; all the temples of the city were illuminated, and that which was dedicated to the god of war resounded with the notes of military instruments, accompanying the sacrifice of those miserable Spaniards who were taken alive. The motions of the Mexicans were distinctly perceived from the quarters, and some soldiers went so far as to affirm, they could distinguish the voices and knew the particular victims: a dismal spectacle! at which Cortes himself could not help shedding tears; and his officers followed his example. A little before day-break, the enemy, elevated with their good fortune, advanced by the three causeways, to beat up the quarters and set fire to the

three brigantines; but the same infernal trumpet by which they were inspired, gave notice of their approach, and they were soon repulsed by the artillery. Next day, Guatimozin gave out among his own people, that Cortes had been killed in his retreat on the causeway; he sent the heads of the sacrificed Spaniards to the neighbouring towns as tokens of his victory, which might confirm those that wavered, and induce others to return to their obedience: and, lastly, he circulated a report, that the god of war being appeased by those victims, had declared, in an intelligible voice, that in eight days the enemies of the Mexicans should infallibly perish. This menace being communicated, by means of his emissaries, to the confederate Indians, they were so terrified at the precise limitation of the time assigned for their destruction, that they resolved to quit the army; and, during the first three nights, almost all the allies abandoned their quarters, except their chief officers, who valued their lives less than their honour.

C H A P. XXXII.

The Spaniards enter and make a lodgment in the city; the emperor and his consort are seized in attempting to escape; the city surrenders to Cortes; and the whole empire of Mexico acknowledges the king of Spain's sovereignty.

CORTES, alarmed at this circumstance, immediately sent the Indian commanders to stop the fugitives until the eight days should be elapsed, that they might be convinced of the imposture; and when that term expired, they became sensible of the falshood of the oracle, and returned to their duty with fresh vigour and resolution. At the same time new levies came from Tezeuco, a strong reinforcement arrived from Tlascalala, and several nations which had hitherto observed a neutrality, induced by the greatness of the enterprize and the distress of Mexico, declared for the Spaniards; so that, in a few days after the terrible dilemma to which he was reduced, Cortes found himself at the head of two hundred thousand fighting men. Mean while the Mexicans were not idle, but made frequent attacks both by day and by night upon the quarters, from which however they were constantly repulsed with great loss; and the general being informed that discontents prevailed in the city, in consequence of the famine, by which great numbers perished, he resolved to proceed again to action, lest the zeal or courage of his confederates should abate; and, as his troops had suffered so much in retreating, it was agreed that the commander of each attack should keep his

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ground

ground, and penetrate as far as the great square of Tlateleuco, where the three bodies proposed to join, and fortify themselves, in order to act as occasion should require.

This plan being approved by his officers, the general made provision of bread, water, and other necessaries for the subsistence of the troops in Mexico; and strong garrisons being left in the quarters and place of arms, Alvarado and Sandoval began their march by day-break from Tacuba to Tapeaquilla, while Cortes advanced from Cuyocan with the body of troops commanded by Olid, and the brigantines and canoes were distributed so as to support the three attacks. They found the causeways in a posture of defence, the bridges drawn up, the ditches cleared, and the barricadoes defended by enormous multitudes of the enemy; but these difficulties were surmounted as formerly, and the three captains much about the same time entered the city, where they fortified themselves as well as they could with the ruins of the houses, so as to effect a lodgment for the night. This new method of proceeding broke all the measures which the Mexicans had taken to charge them in the retreat, and filled the whole city with terror and consternation. A council was immediately convened at the palace of Guatimozin, where it was resolved to make their utmost efforts to dislodge the Spaniards; and their army being divided into three bodies, advanced to the attack in the dawn of the morning; but, preparations having been made for their reception, they no sooner approached than the artillery began to play with such execution as put a stop to their career, and the Spaniards attacking in their turn, they were soon routed and dispersed, and the quarters bettered for the ensuing night. Yet the assailants had manifold difficulties

difficulties to encounter; for they were obliged, as they advanced, to destroy houses, level works, and fill up the trenches which were cut across every street: and, notwithstanding these obstructions, in less than four days all the three leaders came in sight of the Tlateleuco.

Alvarado was the first who arrived at this spacious square, where the enemy, whom he had driven before him, endeavoured to make a stand; but, before they could be drawn up in order, he fell upon them with such fury, that they abandoned the ground, and retired in great confusion into the streets on the opposite side. Perceiving at a small distance a very large temple, the towers of which were possessed by the enemy, he detached some companies to take possession of that post, which would secure his rear, and this service being performed almost without opposition, he ordered a smoke to be made upon the top as a signal of his success, and drew up his troops in one body to make a proper lodgment. It was not long before he was joined by Cortes and Olid, who advanced by another avenue, driving a throng of Mexicans before them into the square, who falling upon Alvarado's battalion, were cut in pieces: and the same miserable fate attended those who were driven by the third division under Gonzalo de Sandoval. The enemy perceiving the whole force of the Spaniards thus united, ran away with the utmost precipitation to defend the person of their prince; and their retreat gave Cortes an opportunity to lodge himself to the best advantage, without interruption. Some companies were posted in the adjacent streets, to secure his quarters from insults; the brigantines and canoes were ordered to cruise along the three causeways, and send him notice of every thing that should occur; and the

confederate Indians were employed in clearing the square from the dead bodies, some of which they devoured, in spite of all the precautions that could be taken to prevent such abominable banquets.

At night, several parties of wretched peasants, half dead with hunger, came to surrender themselves; and, tho' the general knew they were dismissed by the enemy as useless mouths, he ordered them to be fed and released, that they might seek their livelihood in the country. Next morning, all the streets within the enemy's district were filled with armed men, in order to cover those who worked upon the fortifications, which they were raising as their ultimate retreat: and Hernan suspended the attack he had meditated, because they did not proceed to hostilities; resolving to try, once more, if they would accept of terms of accommodation, now that they saw him so advantageously posted in the very heart of their city. For this purpose, he sent four of the principal prisoners with a message to Guatimozin, who with his ministers and nobility had retired to a spacious angle of the city, the greatest part of which bordered upon the lake, and the rest, which was at no great distance from the great square of Tlateleuco, he had fortified with strong bulwarks and deep ditches filled with water. Cortes, in the morning after he had sent the message, advanced to reconnoitre these fortifications, which were covered with an incredible number of armed men, who nevertheless, made no motion towards an engagement, but pointed their weapons downwards, in signal of truce. Yet, in order to persuade the Spaniards, that their desire of peace could not proceed from their necessities, they affected to sit upon the works at victuals, and threw cakes of maiz among the common people; while their champions from time to time sallied forth, and challenged the Spaniards to single combat.

bat. One of these advanced near the place where the general stood, and, by his ornaments, seemed to be a person of distinction: he was armed with a sword and buckler that belonged to one of the Spaniards whom they had sacrificed, and persisted in his defiance with such arrogance as provoked the indignation of Cortes, who ordered the interpreter to tell him, that if he would bring ten others like himself, that Spaniard (pointing to his own page) should have leave to engage them all at once. The page, whose name was Juan Nunez de Mercado, a youth about seventeen, thinking his honour was concerned, as the general had mentioned his name upon this occasion, stole away from the croud, and leaping over the ditch, attacked the challenger in sight of both armies. He received the first blow of the Mexican upon his shield; and, at the same time, gave him such a vigorous thrust as laid the champion dead upon the spot, then seizing his sword and buckler, returned and laid them at the feet of Cortes, who was so pleased with this early proof of his valour, that he embraced him with great tenderness, and, with his own hands, girded upon him the weapon he had so gallantly won.

The suspension of arms lasted three or four days, during which Guatimozin held several councils to deliberate upon the overtures of peace which Cortes had made; but, the priests opposed them so strenuously, that after obstinate debates, it was resolved to renew hostilities and prosecute the war, and in the mean time, the emperor gave orders, that all the piraguas and canoes should retire to a kind of bay made by the lake in that part of the city, that they might be ready to secure his retreat, in case he should be driven to extremity. This order was instantly obeyed, and as an infinite number of those vessels were seen making towards

that bay, Cortes suspected their design, and appointed Gonzalo de Sandoval commander in chief of all the brigantines, giving him instructions to surround the bay at a distance, and keep a watchful eye upon the enemy's motions. Then he advanced with his troops towards their fortifications, and the Mexicans no sooner saw the van-guard approach, than they signified the breach of the truce by their hostile cries, and prepared for a vigorous defence; but when they saw the havock made by the cannon in their bulwarks, which they had supposed impregnable, their hearts began to fail them, and in all probability, they sent notice of their danger to Guatimozin; for, in a little time, they made signs of demanding a parley, by hanging out white cloths and repeating the word Peace. When they were given to understand, by the interpreters, that whoever had any proposals to offer, might approach with safety, three or four persons of note appeared on the farther side of the ditch, and told Cortes they were appointed by the emperor to come and receive his proposals towards an accommodation. The general assured them, that he sincerely wished for peace; and as affairs of that nature could not be so speedily transacted by deputies, he desired that their prince might come and treat in person, and in the mean time he would cause hostilities to cease. The ambassadors retired with this answer, and in the evening returned with a message, importing that Guatimozin would come in person next day, with his counsellors and attendants, in order to put a finishing stroke to the treaty; but, at the appointed time, the deputies came back, and pretended that an unforeseen accident had prevented the emperor from keeping his word, and that he could not possibly come till to-morrow: the conference was afterwards delayed, on pretence of adjusting certain
previous

previous ceremonies ; and in a word, their intention was to amuse the Spaniards until their monarch's escape or retreat should be accomplished. At length, Cortes began to suspect their sincerity, and told them that if they did not come to a resolution within a certain time, he would prosecute the war with the utmost rigour ; but before the term was quite expired, Gonzalo de Sandoval, who commanded the fleet, discovered, at the dawn of day, great multitudes embarking on board of the canoes, and having sent immediate notice of this armament to Cortes, he advanced towards them with his brigantines. They consisted of all the nobility and principal citizens, who were resolved to make their last efforts against the brigantines, so as to employ them fully until the emperor should have made his retreat ; and accordingly they attacked the Spaniards furiously, without being dismayed at the havoc which was made among them by the artillery. In the very hottest of this engagement, Sandoval perceived six or seven piraguas rowing from the farthest part of the bay with the utmost speed, and forthwith ordered captain Garcia de Holguin to give them chase with his brigantine, which was a prime sailer. It was not long before this alert officer came up with the foremost piragua, which when he was going to attack, the Mexicans ceased rowing, and hailing the brigantine, desired the captain would not fire, because the emperor was on board. This declaration being interpreted by one of the Spanish soldiers who had learned a smattering of the language, Holguin, and some of his men leaped into the piragua to secure the prize, and Guatimozin advancing to him, said, " I am your prisoner, and
 " will obey you in all things : all the favour I ask
 " is, that some regard may be had to the honour
 " of the empress, my consort, and her female at-

“tendants.” So saying, he handed that princess into the brigantine, and perceiving Holguin in some concern about the other piraguas, he told him he needed not give himself any concern about his followers, for, they would all come and die at the feet of their sovereign. Accordingly, he made a certain signal, at sight of which the Mexicans dropped their weapons, and followed the brigantine with the most submissive obedience. The nobility on board of the canoes which were so hotly engaged with Sandoval, no sooner heard of their prince’s misfortune, than they began to utter a dismal yell of lamentation, surrendered to the Spaniards without further resistance, and begged to be taken on board of the brigantines, that they might share the fortune of their emperor. As for Holguin, he no sooner made Guatimozin prisoner, than he dispatched a canoe to Cortes, with an account of his success, which he likewise communicated to Sandoval as he passed, without bearing down too near him, lest he should order him to bring his prisoner on board. While these things were transacted on the lake, the general was employed in attacking the wooden fortifications, which the Mexicans defended with extraordinary courage and resolution, until they were informed by their centinels, that the piraguas were taken, when they suddenly retired in confusion, overwhelmed with fear, astonishment, and despair.

That very instant, the messenger sent by Holguin arrived, and gave Cortes an account of what had happened; in consequence of which, the troops were ordered to keep their ground without advancing, till further instructions; and two companies of Spaniards were sent to the landing-place, to guard the royal prisoner, whom the general in person received at a little distance from the quarters,

ters, with great courtesy and respect, which the emperor returned by signs and gesticulations.

When they arrived at the quarters, Guatimozin and his empress went in first and seated themselves, but, the prince seeming to recollect himself, rose up again and desired Cortes to take his place; being prevailed upon to reassume his seat, he addressed himself to the general in words to this effect. “Valiant and renowned chief, why do not you
“draw that sword and take away my life? prisoners of my rank are a burthen to the conqueror: dispatch me then, without delay, that I
“may have the honour of dying by your hand, since I have not been so happy as to fall in the
“defence of my country.” Here he could not help bursting into tears, while the empress wept bitterly, and Cortes, whose heart melted with compassion, could scarce refrain from following their example. In order to alleviate their sorrow, he told him he was prisoner to one of the most powerful monarchs of the universe, from whose royal clemency he might hope not only to regain his liberty, but even his empire; and that, in the mean time, until that monarch’s pleasure should be known, he should be treated with all the respect due to the emperor of Mexico.

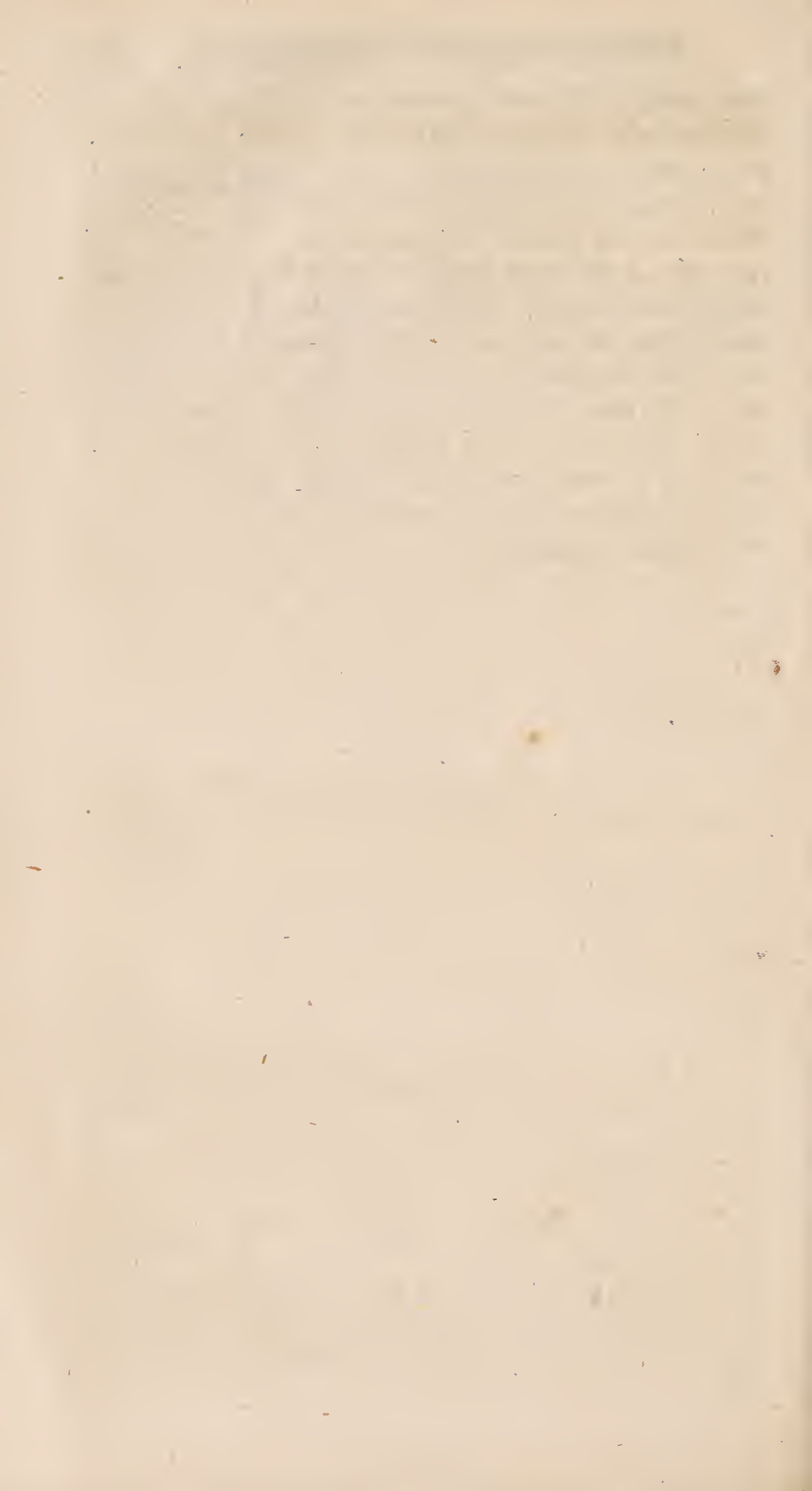
Guatimozin was about the age of twenty four, tall, robust, extremely well proportioned, and of a complexion so fair, that, among his countrymen, he looked like a native of a different climate: his countenance was lofty, and commanded respect, his disposition was martial, and his bravery had raised him to the throne. The empress, who was about the same age, had a commanding aspect and dignity of deportment which attracted the eye, and inspired respect and veneration, tho’ her beauty was rather masculine than agreeable. Cortes understanding she was niece to Motezuma, renewed

his tenders of service with great cordiality on that account; but, as he thought it was necessary to reduce that part of the city which was still in the enemy's possession, he took leave of his prisoners, whom he left to the care of Sandoval, and went out to give orders for another attack.

Guatimozin guessing the cause of his abrupt departure, desired to speak with him, and when he came back, conjured him to spare his unhappy subjects, who would surrender peaceably whenever they should be informed of his captivity: he therefore earnestly begged that one of his own ministers might accompany Cortes, and command the Mexicans, in the name of their prince, to obey the Spanish general; and this order they no sooner received, than they threw down their arms and submitted. They were permitted to march out, without arms or baggage, and they forthwith took the advantage of this permission, retiring tumultuously in such multitudes, that the Spaniards were amazed at the numbers of armed men who remained after so many defeats, and such repeated carnage.

When the troops of Cortes took possession of the places they had evacuated, nothing but objects of horror and compassion met their view. They found a vast number of miserable wretches lying sick and wounded, calling upon death to release them from their tortures; and saw whole courts and houses filled with dead bodies of men of note, who had been slain in battle, and were kept until their funeral obsequies could be celebrated: from these charnel-houses, issued such a noisome stench as even threatened the air with infection, and obliged Cortes to take immediate measures for preventing a pestilence, by ordering the bodies to be interred. Until this contagious nuisance could be removed, he retired with his prisoners to Cuyocan,
after

after having assigned quarters to Sandoval and Alvarado, who superintended the cleansing of Mexico ; and this disagreeable duty being performed in a few days, he returned to the city, the intire reduction of which happened on the 13th of August, in the year 1521, after a siege that lasted ninety three days. Guatimozin being taken, and the capital of that vast empire subdued, the tributary princes came in to do homage to the conqueror, and their example was followed by all the petty caciques of the circumjacent districts ; so that, in a short time, the king of Spain was universally acknowledged sovereign of all those rich and fertile dominions.





THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST of PERU, by FRANCIS PIZARRO.

CHAP. I.

Pizarro's parentage; his first appearance in life; raises himself by his own abilities; serves under Balboa with success; acquires an easy fortune; tempted to join Almagro and de Luques in pursuit of new discoveries; Almagro's birth; they fit out a vessel, and proceed to Port Pines; have some skirmishes with the natives, and news of vast treasure, but are greatly distressed; their design very near ruin; all their men desert except fourteen.

Notwithstanding some Spanish writers have affirmed that Francis Pizarro, to whose valour and perseverance Spain owes the reduction of Peru, was a nobleman by birth, we are told by others, with more shew of reason, and stronger proof, that he was the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro, an officer at Truxillo, a town in Estremadura, who at first exposed him as a foundling at the door of the church; but being discovered to be the father, was obliged to take him under his own care: which he did; fulfilling, however, the duty of a parent very indifferently; giving him no manner of education, and setting him to keep his hogs; an employment in which he spent great part of his boyish days.

Having an innate impulse that taught him, he knew not why, to look with contempt on his occupation, and prompted him to action, he ran
away

away from the herd, and got on board a fleet bound for the West-Indies, where he was soon taken notice of for his prudence, assiduity, and ready wit, so that he raised himself from the meanest offices to a commission, and having served with honour in Hispaniola and Cuba, he accompanied Hojeda to the gulph of Darien, by whom he was left to govern, in his absence, a colony, which he settled there.

Pizarro afterwards served under Vasquez Nunez de Balboa, and acquired the character of a skilful, brave, and intrepid officer. He settled at Panama on its being first built, and as he had gained a considerable fortune, seemed entirely disposed to a life of ease and enjoyment; from which he was soon diverted by the thirst of glory, and perhaps an intermingled desire of increasing his possessions.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Pinsons had discovered Brazil, on the eastern coast of South America, but no discoveries had been hitherto made to the westward of it, when Pizarro, spirited up by Almagro, an adventurer of whom we shall speak more largely hereafter, entered into partnership with him and Ferdinand de Luques, a rich school-master settled at Panama, to pursue the enquiries set on foot by Nunez de Balboa for that purpose.

Pizarro and Diego de Almagro were to set sail on this expedition in a fleet fitted out at their own charge; and, in case of any new discoveries, the former was to keep possession of the place, while the latter was to return to Panama, to procure recruits and other necessaries; which Ferdinand was to prepare and have in as much readiness for them as possible, acting in quality of their agent; nor indeed was either of the other two so well adapted to this employment, he being not only the oldest but the richest of the three, reckoned
worth

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worth a good sum of ready money, besides a considerable estate, and being sole proprietor of the island of Tobago, in the bay of Panama.

Diego took his name of Almagro, from a town in the province of Castile in Old Spain, where he was found, when an infant, in the street; so that it never was known who had given him birth: his education was very indifferent; his rise in life was owing entirely to the strength of his natural parts; and he had a soul formed for great undertakings.

The intentions of these three partners were looked upon by the common herd of mankind, whose notions, groveling and confined, cannot stretch the heights of glory, as romantic and impossible; and such as must certainly end in their destruction.

However superior to vulgar suggestions, or to common opinions, they persisted in their designs, entering into articles never to abandon one another upon any account whatever, promising that neither danger nor disappointment should detach them from their enterprize; and to share, without the least reserve, equal parcels of whatever wealth they should obtain; having first deducted the emperor's dues and all contingent charges.

There was something extremely singular as well as solemn in their manner of ratifying these articles; Pizarro and Almagro publicly assisted at a high mass, celebrated by Ferdinand de Luques, he being a priest, who having broken the consecrated host into three parts, took the first himself, and administered the rest to them, thereby signifying that they should pursue their present project with no less eagerness than if their eternal happiness depended on it.

They found it no difficult matter to obtain the sanction of Don Pedro de Arias, otherwise Perraras, governor of Panama, to their agreement, who

who looked upon such an attempt in three private subjects as wild and visionary; for two or three expeditions, of which he himself had been the promoter, having failed, he could not think it possible for them to succeed; however, in case they did, he relied upon his own rank and authority for transferring the sweets of their labour to himself, which he would not have scrupled doing, being proud, unjust, cruel, and immoderately avaritious; and if they miscarried, which every body judged they would, it could be no manner of disappointment or disadvantage to him. However, he neither reaped the advantages of their voyage, nor was he gratified with the news of their miscarriage, being soon after this removed from his government.

Having collected such people as had been concerned with Balboa in his expeditions, and purchased a new ship built also by him, Pizarro embarked about the middle of November, 1524, together with one hundred and fourteen men, officers included, the most inconsiderable body that ever dared so vast an undertaking.

From Panama he sailed to the Pearl islands, in the midst of the bay, where he took in wood, water, and hay for his horses, having four along with him; horses being a valuable and scarce commodity then, in that part of the world. Thence he proceeded about a hundred leagues to the southward, and landed at Port Pinas, upon the continent; but the inhabitants having fled up the country, which appeared to be nothing but bogs and mountains over-run with wood, without any prospect of provision, Pizarro ran farther down the coast, but did not find the prospect improve; besides, the rainy season coming on fast, and his men beginning to sicken thro' fatigue,
and

and want of proper aliment, he sent his ship for provisions to the isle of Pearls.

In the mean time he was joined by Almagro, and sixty recruits; when, notwithstanding the badness of the climate, and unhealthiness of the soil, they landed in conjunction, and had many encounters with the natives, in one of which Almagro lost an eye; when happening to meet with gold to the value of fourteen or fifteen thousand crowns, they recovered their spirits a little, resolving at all hazards to pursue their project; in which they were encouraged by their pilot, who had, during the time of their being on shore, ran down as far as cape Passaro, where he seized some prisoners, who had given him a most tempting description of the riches of the country whither they intended. But for the present, this description was but the thirst of Tantalus; since, tho' so nigh these treasures, they could not at any rate approach them, provisions being exhausted, money short, and many of their best hands much out of order; besides, Pizarro had sent Almagro to Panama with what gold they had taken, to purchase provisions and necessaries.

Here he was joined by about forty recruits; and having bought up some horses, arms, cloaths, shoes, provisions, and medicines, he returned to Pizarro, whose situation was almost miserable; the greater part of his men being either sick or dead. However, they removed from this unwholesome place to the isle of Gallo; where having staid about fifteen days, they ran still farther south along the coast, and found the weather continue so bad, and the country so much under water, that even the dauntless Pizarro began to despair of succeeding.

Affairs wore so indifferent a face, that the two commanders were near coming to an open breach,

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in a dispute concerning their pursuing or abandoning the voyage: however, the former being determined, Pizarro, with the remainder of his men, went back to Gallo, there to wait the return of Almagro, who was once more dispatched for reinforcements to Panama.

Many of the foldiers having desired to be permitted to go along with him, it was absolutely refused; but notwithstanding the great care which was taken to prevent their forwarding any letters, some of them having threatened to complain to the governor, that sending them on this expedition, was devoting them to slaughter, a paper subscribed by most of them, setting forth their hardships, and desiring to be recalled, was so artfully enclosed in a bottom of cotton yarn, that it escaped the vigilance of the officers, and came safely to the hands of Pedro los Rios, the new governor, Pedrarias being lately displaced.

It was upon this account Almargo was prevented from raising more recruits, and a ship dispatched to the island of Gallo, with a commissary on board, to bring back such of the men as survived. The arrival of the ship was the most grievous wound Pizarro ever felt; however, he intreated the commissary to allow such as chose it voluntarily, to stay with him; which being granted, he drew a line with the point of his sword, and endeavoured, in the most pathetic terms he could utter, to persuade them not to abandon so glorious a prospect, now they were on the eve of reaping a golden harvest for their manifold toils; saying, that for his part, he saw such renown as well as advantage must accrue from a little more perseverance, that he was determined never to retreat: he declared, he did not mean to take the least advantage of them, for he would divide equally with them whatever fell into his hands; and concluded

cluded with desiring such as had courage enough to persist, to come over the sword. But so severe had been the distresses of these poor people, that only thirteen men and a mulatto came over the rest embarking with the commissary and returning to Panama.

CH A P. II.

Pizarro has but a poor prospect of success; is joined by a few volunteers, with whom he passes the equator; they pick up some wealth; Candia sent to examine the country, of which he gives a prodigious account; they are well used at Payta; entertained by a great lady; to whom Pizarro preaches christianity: one of his men goes mad for love of her; returns to Panama; the governor hinders his levying men; and he embarks for Spain.

THE anguish and despair of Pizarro at being thus abandoned, are inexpressible; his present prospect was wild and barren, nor did his future seem better: that his affairs should amend, came scarcely within the compass of his hope: however, all his grief was inward; he communicated his thoughts to nobody; but assuming something of a chearful look, retired with the few daring followers of his desperate fortune to the isle of Gorgona for a supply of water; and here he was joined in a short time by Almagro, with a few volunteers whom he had allured into the service, and a pilot.

With these they left Gorgona, and sailing along the coast passed the equator; having been two years in reaching thirty degrees south latitude, a course which, now that the winds and tides are known, is made in as many weeks. However, they picked up
several

several Indian vessels in their way, of considerable value; all which confirmed the most sanguine hopes they could have entertained of the wealth of the land in quest of which they were bound.

And in order to put the truth of these reports beyond all doubt, Pizarro chose Pedro de Candia, a native of the isle of Candia, whence he took his name, a sensible, well-spoken man, and very capable of insinuating himself into the good graces of the Indians, to penetrate as far as he could into Tumbez, and from his own observations make his report.

Pedro effected his commission in a most masterly manner, and returned safely to Pizarro with assurances that the country surpassed what the warmest imagination could suggest; that their wealth and splendor, to him who had not seen it, was incredible. The walls of their public buildings, in the constructing which great ingenuity was manifested, being covered with gold and silver.

Pizarro now held a council among his people, in which, after much serious deliberation, it was resolved that they should return to Panama; where, having now received sufficient assurances of the prodigious advantages to be reaped from a proper expedition into Peru, it was to be hoped they would meet people enough willing to embark in the undertaking, as well as supplies, that must make success indubitable; besides, it was allowed by them all, that in their present circumstances, they could not proceed with the least probability of success; and that, when properly reinforced, there could not be any fear of their again essaying the dangers they had undergone in this voyage, taught by experience to avoid them.

However, they first sailed a few leagues up the coast, and made Payta, called by Pizarro Santa Cruz, one of the best ports on the Peruvian coast;

here

here they cast anchor, and found the natives very humane and civil, ready to supply them with whatever provisions they wanted; for which, in return, they gave them fish-hooks, glass beads, and other trifles. The rising of the sea forced them to quit the harbour, leaving one Alphonso de Molina on shore; in search of whom, having coasted farther south to no purpose, they returned, and he soon after came on board, in a boat such as they use in that country, not unlike a float; telling them he had been entertained in a very handsome manner by a lady of great estimation, who was very desirous to see the ship; and soon after she sent other floats to pilot them to a safer harbour, a little more to the northward.

Pizarro sent Molina, with three other gentlemen, on shore, to compliment this lady, and desire the favour of seeing her on board; in consequence of which she came along with them, and was received by Pizarro in the most elegant manner his circumstances would admit. She now, in return, invited Pizarro to come on shore; and tho' he offered to wait on her, without any hostages, it was what she absolutely refused; and next morning sent twelve Indians of some quality, who staid on board, in spite of Pizarro's remonstrances, all the time he was on shore.

Madam Capillana, so was this lady called, received him, as soon as he landed, with a great retinue, and conducted him to an elegant arbour; where she entertained him at dinner, and afterwards with several Indian diversions, which were very pleasing.

He thanked her in return for her great civilities, and made her a long speech, in which he set forth, as well as he could, the excellencies of the christian religion, and the errors of idolatry; concluding with exhorting her and her attendants to embrace

brace the truth, and to submit to the king of Spain, who was the most powerful king on earth.

To this discourse the Indians answered, in general terms, that they did not know a great deal about religion, but were satisfied with that of their ancestors; and as to a sovereign prince, they knew none who ought to command their allegiance but their own lawful inca, so they stiled their emperor Guayanacapa.

After this conversation, the Spaniards retired, very well satisfied with their reception; and when they were about to hoist sail, Alcon, one of the persons who had accompanied Molina in his embassy to madam Capillana, having fallen deeply in love with her, begged that he might be left behind; but that favour being refused him, he went stark mad, fancying himself a king, and telling his companions they were vagabonds and usurpers, come to deprive him of his crown, but he would protect it with his sword; which he drew, and would certainly have done some mischief, if the pilot had not brought him to the ground with an oar, and assisted to chain him down below deck.

Towards the end of the year 1527 Pizarro returned to Panama, bringing with him several pieces of gold in the mass, three Indian boys, whom he intended to educate for interpreters, and some Peruvian sheep, of whose strength and make we have taken some notice in our account of Sir Francis Drake.

The specimens that he brought with him of the riches of the country, and the accounts given by him and his people of what they had seen, made those who had before ridiculed this expedition as ruinous and absurd, confess their error, and incline to partake of its advantages. But Pizarro being opposed by the new governor in levying men, and other preparations for pursuing his schemes; and finding the support of an authority superior to his own,

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own absolutely necessary, with the consent of his partners embarked for old Spain, to solicit the protection of the emperor, and such powers as were requisite for forwarding their schemes.

C H A P. III.

Pizarro arrives in Spain; is presented to Charles V. is appointed to govern such discoveries as he shall make: is joined by his four brothers, and returns to Panama: whence he continues his course to St. Matthew's bay, where he suffers greatly for attacking, unprovoked, the defenceless Indians: strives to ingratiate himself with the people of Tumbez; whom he intimidates, and gets vast riches: he builds forts and a church: a review of the divisions in Peru at the time of Pizarro's discovering that kingdom.

HE arrived without any memorable accident at Sevil, whence he set out for Toledo, at which place Charles V. then held his court; and here Pizarro, having presented his imperial majesty with some Peruvians dressed in their proper habits, two or three Peruvian sheep, and some gold and silver vessels, the manufacture of the country, met with a most gracious reception.

The emperor having very pleasedly attended to his account of the difficulties he had undergone in his search for Peru, referred him for instructions to the council of the Indies, which authorised him to proceed in the conquest of Peru; as far as two hundred leagues to the southward of Tumbez.

He then procured to be confirmed to himself, by an imperial grant, the titles of captain general, lord lieutenant, and chief justice of Peru. This was ex-

preſſly contrary to his agreement with his partners, having promiſed to procure the ſecond of theſe titles for Almagro, and the laſt for his pilot, who had ſerved with great ſkill and fidelity. For Ferdinand he obtained the title of protector general of the Peruvians, and the emperor's promiſe of recommending him to the pope as a fit perſon to be nominated biſhop of Tumbez; of which place Almagro was named governor with the title of don, and his baſtard ſon was legitimated. Of the thirteen men who had choſen to remain with Pizarro on the iſland of Gallo, on ſuch as were gentlemen was conferred the honour of knighthood, and ſuch as were not, were raiſed to the rank of gentlemen.

Theſe commiſſions were made out at Toledo on the 26th of July, 1528, to the content of the adventurer, whom ſix Dominican friars were ordered to attend as miſſioners to Peru; and to the ſatisfaction of the court of Spain, which was well pleaſed with the proſpect of annexing another powerful empire to its dominions. And it is to be obſerved, that Spain had the peculiar advantage, in her American conqueſts, of not advancing a ſingle piece of money for the ſervice; the countries themſelves yielding ſufficient to defray every expence, and ſatisfy the utmoſt avarice of the conquerors.

Pizarro having ſettled all the affairs that brought him into Spain, now paid a viſit to Truxillo, where he was born: here he found his father married to a woman of family, by whom he had three ſons, Ferdinand, Gonſalo, and John; and his mother, who was but a poor country girl, wedded to a farmer, by whom ſhe had only one ſon, called Francis Martin d'Alcantra: theſe four brothers he enliſted into his ſervice, and arrived with them, in the month of January, 1530, at Nombre de Dios, which
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is twenty-five leagues north-west of Panama, whither, with all his people, he soon came, over land.

Almagro, very much dissatisfied with Pizarro's having engrossed to himself all the honours and authority that he could, at first refused to assist him any farther in the affair, till Pizarro having promised to cede the title of lord lieutenant, and some other advantages, in his favour, they were seemingly reconciled; tho' Almagro never truly forgave him, as will appear in the sequel.

Three ships being now prepared for the expedition, on board of which were an hundred and eighty-five foldiers, thirty-seven horses, with arms, ammunition, &c. Pizarro set sail from Panama, but met with the winds as contrary as they had been in his former voyage; so that finding it impracticable to keep the sea longer, with any degree of safety, while there were horses on board, he came to anchor above an hundred leagues to the northward of Tumbez, at a place which they called St. Matthew's bay. Here they landed, and falling upon the natives without any provocation, made many of them prisoners, and plundered their towns, in which they found vast treasures; for the poor people, being honest themselves, suspected no deceit, and consequently took no care of hiding any thing from them. The Spaniards remitted upwards of thirty thousand pesos in gold by the ships which were sent for reinforcements to Panama, together with a large parcel of emeralds; several were lost by the folly of the people into whose hands they fell, who, to try if they were as hard as diamonds, pounded them with hammers.

In consequence of this injudicious behaviour to the natives, Pizarro and his men were reduced to great extremity for want of provisions; and many of them contracted a strange sort of disorder, which they imputed to the water they drank be-

ing poisoned ; for their faces and bodies were on a sudden covered with warts, that put them to excessive pain, and some of them bled to death, when these were cut off.

Being joined by several recruits from Almagro, and some Spaniards, who had been invited hither by the fame of the riches of the country, from Nicaragua, a place very far to the north-west of Panama, and near the bay of Honduras, he continued his march to Tumbez, keeping the sea all along in sight.

As great disputes subsisted between the people of Tumbez and the inhabitants of a neighbouring island called Puna, Pizarro thought to avail himself of their dissensions, by making friends of the latter ; but finding them false and dissembling, he attacked and routed them, setting at liberty above six hundred natives of Tumbez whom he had detained prisoners, and among them a person of great quality : these he sent home, conducted by three of his people ; and, in consequence of this civility, expected to have found the Tumbezenes his friends. But he was strangely deceived ; for the first of his men that afterwards fell into their hands, they treacherously murdered. However, the landing of some Spanish horse and artillery among them, soon put them into confusion ; for they fled wherever the Spaniards advanced, who at length were left entirely masters of the valley of Tumbez, where the piles of treasure which they found were almost incredible ; having possession not only of the inca's palace, but of the temple of the sun, where gold, silver, pearls, emeralds, and other rich spoils, lay in innumerable heaps.

So great a consternation did the noise of the ordinance, and the appearance of the horses, spread among the fugitives, that they declared, if the Spaniards

niards were not gods, they must be devils ; it not being in the power of man to oppose them.

Nor did Pizarro neglect to make a proper use of the terrors his presence had infused, resolving to push his present advantages to the utmost ; however, he deferred this a little while till he had erected a fort, to which he might, in case of any emergency, escape, and in which the recruits he expected might quarter. He built one accordingly on the sea-coast, to which he gave the name of St. Michael ; this was in the year 1531. It was the first Spanish colony planted in Peru ; and a church being raised there at the same time, father Ferdinand de Luques being rendered incapable, thro' indisposition, of fulfilling that office, F. Reginald de Pedraga was constituted protector of the Indies.

A settlement of this sort was certainly much wanted ; and there was no place on the whole coast so properly situated for the purpose, as that chosen by Pizarro.

His next step was equally prudent, disinterested, and spiriting ; for he made an equal division of all the gold and silver in his custody among his men, giving notes for it, payable at Panama, to such as were to accompany him ; and to those who were to remain behind in the new colony, delivering their shares, without abatement, to enable them to pursue their different occupations.

It was plain that he could not maintain his footing in this territory by force ; and yet, from his erecting and fortifying a town, as well as obliging the neighbouring natives to acknowledge the Spaniards as masters, it was evident he resolved to defend it.

Nothing lays a kingdom so open to invasion, or contributes to weaken it, so much as intestine jars ; and this was the case in Peru, when Pizarro invaded it. It will not be amiss to take a view, at least a

flight one, of the affairs of the kingdom at that time.

All accounts agree in telling us, that few princes who ever filled the throne of Peru excelled in virtues the late inca, or emperor, called by some Spanish writers Guayanacapa, and by others Guayanacava: he was generous, valiant, and humane: nor was his good fortune beneath his deserts; he was generally successful in his undertakings, having made several considerable additions to his crown, particularly that of a province called Quito; to confirm his title to which, he married the daughter of the late sovereign of that country, by whom he had a son called Athuallpa, or by some Spanish authors, Atabaliba; to whom, on his death bed, he bequeathed the crown of Quito, as being independent of the inca's dominions, and descending to him in the right of his mother.

Huescar, the eldest son of Guayanacapa, succeeding to the hereditary dominions of his father, insisted upon Atabaliba's surrendering the kingdom of Quito, promising to assign him an equivalent elsewhere; which the other absolutely refused; offering, however, to pay him homage for the crown, tho' it was his own, not only by right of birth, but by the tenor of his father's will; but his offer was rejected.

In consequence of this dispute, armies were raised on each side, and those very formidable ones, between which an engagement ensued, that lasted, with great and repeated slaughter, for upwards of three days; the forces of Atabaliba being at length defeated, and he himself taken and imprisoned: however, while his guards were immersed in rejoicing and revelry, subsequent to their victory, he found means of breaking a hole thro' the wall of the house wherein he was confined, by which he made his escape, and presented himself once again among his people; telling them that by an immortal

tal assistance he had been changed into a serpent, and under that form had evaded the vigilance of his keepers.

The report of this miracle was soon spread among the natives of Quito, and had such an effect upon them (for superstition and credulity was never any where more firmly rooted) that every body took up arms in his defence, and he soon saw himself master of a body of forces much more considerable than ever, wherewith he marched against his brother, who, he was informed, was on the road to seek him, with a most powerful army. This report induced him to send two of his best generals, with some light armed troops, to reconnoitre Huescar's strength; and these, as they drew near his camp, were obliged to strike out of the high road, to avoid being discovered.

Huescar, to shun the noise and bustle of his army, happened, unluckily for him, with some of his chief courtiers and principal officers, to have taken the same road; when Atabaliba's men perceiving the royal standard, and guessing the true state of the case, resolved now to make a bold push for concluding the war: wherefore they marched down, surprized, and routed this body of troops, and took the inca himself prisoner; who would have been soon set at liberty by his main army, had he not been obliged to order it to retire; those who detained him, threatening otherwise to cut off his head; assuring him, they would afterwards die upon the spot, to the last man, being determined not to surrender: at the same time observing, that he need be under no apprehensions from his confinement, since all that Atabaliba required, was permission to enjoy the kingdom of Quito as his vassal; which being secured to him, he was too generous to offer to detain him.

On this he made a signal to his army to halt, and having sent for the principal officers, ordered them to draw off the forces to Cuzco, the place of the inca's residence ; which command was immediately obeyed.

C H A P. IV.

Pizarro's aid solicited by the contending parties ; receives an embassy from Atabaliba : some traditions and old prophecies about the Spaniards : Pizarro is introduced to, and discourses with Atabaliba ; by whom he is visited in his camp : some confusions arise, in which the Spaniards fall on the natives, and take the prince prisoner : an instance of Pizarro's political ingratitude : Huescar put to death privately : Ferdinand Pizarro sets out for Spain ; Atabaliba's speech to him at parting : the occasion of that prince's fall.

THINGS were thus circumstanced when he entered Peru, and was first solicited by some compassionate noblemen to assist Huescar ; to whom he answered in general terms, that he was on his march to assist the distressed, and see justice impartially administred : after which he was honoured with a solemn embassy from Atabaliba, desiring his friendship and alliance ; which determined him to visit that prince at Caxamalca, where he then was.

In their way thither, the Spaniards suffered excessively, marching over a parched, barren desert, for upwards of twenty leagues ; after which they found themselves in a rich fertile country, where
they

they were abundantly refreshed, and then continued their journey with more satisfaction.

They were soon after met by other deputies from Atabaliba, who presented to Pizarro, on the part of the inca, a pair of gold buskins richly ornamented, and bracelets of the same metal, sumptuously adorned with emeralds and other precious stones; which, it was signified to him, he was to wear at his having an audience of Atabaliba, who by those marks would know him. These deputies presented him, besides, with many other valuable presents, and brought with them great plenty of provisions, of which the army stood much in need: besides which, there was a politeness and ceremony in the behaviour of the chief of the embassy, who was himself of the blood of the incas, that contributed greatly to elevate the Spaniards; for they imputed all these proceedings to the fear they had impressed upon the minds of the people, in which they were partly right; for they certainly stood in awe of them, not so much from notions of their strength and valour, as from a religious motive, imagining them descendents of the sun.

We have before made some trifling observations on the credulity of the people; and it is necessary to take notice of something more of that sort that prevailed amongst them, greatly to the advantage of the Spaniards.

There was an old tradition universally believed by them, that the elder son of one of their incas, who had lived many ages before, had seen a strange kind of spirit, who called himself Virachoca, or offspring of the sun, whose dress and appearance was very different from that of the Peruvians; for whereas these have no beards, this phantom had one that was very long; his garment was of a very unusual make, and he led a strange kind of animal in his hand; a likeness of which the prince had

never seen in life. This fable worked so strongly upon the people, and was so generally received as a truth, that they no sooner saw a bearded Spaniard, clothed differently from themselves, and holding a horse, than they cried out, “Virachoca, or the son of the sun, is arrived:” besides, it was reported the late inca Guayanacapa had prophesied a little before his death, that his empire was near a fall, and would in a short time become the property of a bearded race of aliens. And, whoever considers deliberately, must be forced to allow, that these reports impressing a weak-minded people, joined to the dissensions between the two brothers, must have facilitated prodigiously the conquests of Pizarro.

When they came to Caxamalca, they found that Atabaliba had retired to a place at a small distance from it, whither the general sent his brother Ferdinand Pizarro, along with Ferdinand Soto, in quality of ambassadors.

They were introduced into the royal presence with great pomp and decorum, and were struck with astonishment, as well as filled with rapture, at the wealth and magnificence that every where blazed around them.

As soon as the Spaniards approached Atabaliba, who was seated in a chair of massy gold, they saluted him after the Spanish fashion, with which seeming well pleased, he rose and embraced them; when a golden chair being brought for each, they sat and were served with perfumed liquors, in which he pledged them, by two maidens of the royal blood; the manner in which the inca drank to them, as they were told by their interpreter, who was a most miserable one, was a peculiar mark of his esteem.

When this ceremony, which was accompanied with a collation of fruit, was over, Ferdinand made
a long

a long speech, in which he told the emperor that Francis Pizarro, a very famous general, was come as ambassador to him from the high-priest of the Christian church, and from Charles V. the most potent emperor in the world, to point out to him the right road to heaven, and make overtures of friendship.

To this the inca made, as they supposed, a pathetic reply, as it drew tears from the eyes of those who understood him, and concluded with telling them, that he would come the following day to the quarters of their general, and hold a personal conference with him. They could not collect much more from his discourse ; and from the lame, nay, nonsensical manner in which their interpreter explained to them what the inca had said, they had some reason to think that he had received but a poor explanation of the address made him by Ferdinand Pizarro.

This interpreter's name was Phillipillo, or Little Phillip, so called from the meanness of his origin, which shone forth in his intellects: he was one of those whom we have mentioned Pizarro to have intended educating for an interpreter, and one more stupid he could not have chosen. Francis Pizarro having intelligence of his visit, divided his cavalry into three parties, of twenty men each ; for his whole number of horses was but sixty, and these he posted behind an old wall, that their sudden appearance might have the stronger effect, himself waiting the coming of Atabaliba, who approached with sixteen thousand men, at the head of an hundred foot drawn up in battle array.

The figure of father Vincent de Valverde, who advanced from the Spaniards, with a cross in one hand, and his breviary in the other, to meet the emperor, surprised him extremely ; however, he received him with great respect, and listened atten-

tively to a long harangue, wherein the father preached up the universality and truth of the roman catholic religion, the benefits of the redemption by Jesus Christ, the great power the pope derived from St. Peter, and the vast extent of Charles V.'s monarchy; to all which he entreated him to submit, lest the Spaniards should let loose upon him plagues equal to those, God allowed to be poured upon the hardened Pharaoh.

Tho' a dissertation of this sort, upon subjects which, as the inca had never before heard of, it was impossible for him to understand, must have worn almost the appearance of nonsense; yet, how much more ridiculous must it seem when delivered thro' a channel of such ignorance and barbarity as Phillipillo? However, the inca made some sort of reply, which was delivered to the friar by the same person, in such terms that he could not possibly divine their meaning. Thus, a scene of confusion between these two people ensued, which was increased by a tumult, caused by some Spaniards, who fell to plundering a consecrated idol very richly ornamented, in which they were at first opposed by the Indians, till their emperor, whose command is to them equal to a divine law, cried out, that they should do nothing to offend the children of the sun. At the noise of the tumult, father Vincent, running in haste to appease it, dropped his cross and breviary; which being perceived, by some of the perfidious Spaniards, trampled under foot, they cried out, "An insult on Christianity!" on which the horse suddenly made their appearance, bearing down all before them, the poor Indians falling tame sacrifices to their treachery, without making the least resistance, to the amount of five thousand. Pizarro himself was the first that laid hold of the litter in which Atabaliba was borne, whom he dragged with him to the ground,



The taking Atabaliba Prisoner.

ground, receiving from one of his followers a cut upon his hand at the same time, which was intended for the emperor; nor was there a drop of Spanish blood besides spilt at this scene of unimpassioned slaughter, of calm, cool villainy, which was practised on the 3d of May 1533, a day kept sacred by the roman catholic church, in honour of finding the cross of Christ, after its having been many years buried.

The Spanish writers differ very much in their accounts of this barbarous transaction; but not their subtlest pen can remove the stain it has reflected upon Pizarro and his followers, and indeed upon the Spanish name in general.

Herrera, a Spanish author, whose history of the Indies has gained considerable reputation, informs us, that the Spaniards were obliged to act thus in their own defence, Atabaliba having buoyed them up a long time with good words, that he might the more securely betray them; for which purpose he had ordered his vanguard, at a certain signal, to seize on the Spaniards, they being secretly armed for that end, and bringing with them cords and chains to bind those whom they should spare for servitude. According to this account, Pizarro acted consistently with self-preservation, one of the first laws of nature, in his attack upon the Indians.

Vega, on the other hand, says, that Atabaliba from the beginning, impressed with an awe, from imagining the Spaniards children of the sun, and the persons pointed out in the prophecy we have mentioned, behaved to them with all the respect possible, declaring, that he looked upon Pizarro as an ambassador from heaven, to whose commands it was ordained that he should submit in every thing. And the same author it is that affirms, that when the Spaniards attacked the Indians, without any provocation, the inca forbade them to oppose, even tho' he himself were sacrificed; that he quietly submitted

submitted to his fate, reprimanding those who crowded round his chair, as it were to assist him, several of whom were slaughtered in the attempt to relieve him.

We shall not pretend to affirm which of these is the true account; we shall only take notice that Herrera, for the honour of his country, would endeavour to palliate, if possible, the barbarities of the Spaniards, while we have some room to believe that Vega, who was by birth a Peruvian, and descended from the blood-royal, would endeavour to remove any odium, as distant as possible, from the region of his nativity: but we are rather inclined to side with the latter, from considering, that, had Atabaliba been so treacherous and cunning as the former represents him, he would scarcely have allowed the Spaniards to march, without molestation, so far as Caxamalca, when there were so many convenient situations for cutting them off to a man, in the road through which they passed, to reach it; nay, and what makes this more incredible is, that had the Indians been prepared for any thing of an assault, they would not have fallen so tamely as it is certain they did, without striking a blow.

Pizarro having removed Atabaliba to his headquarters, took a review of the spoils of the field, consisting of vast variety of gold and silver utensils, the jewels, ornaments and wardrobe of the inca, and his principal officers, together with many of the women of quality, and some of the mamacons or consecrated virgins taken prisoners.

The next day he sent out a detachment to plunder the camp, where he found an immense quantity of riches, notwithstanding that the Peruvians, who were on the spot, had removed three thousand loads of gold and silver.

He now ordered a proclamation to be published, setting forth that the inca was alive, and all were at liberty, that chose it, to render him the usual service:

service: this he did to encourage them not to conceal or carry off more treasure; and it had the desired effect; for many of the chief courtiers came in to attend upon their prince, bringing with them valuable presents; and Pizarro ordered that the inca, whom he kept nevertheless in fetters, should have the enjoyment of his women, and be served with the same order and decorum as before he was a prisoner. He seemed to bear this turn of fortune very patiently, but was sometimes angry with his chains.

Perceiving the fondness of his new masters for gold and silver, and being very desirous of liberty, he made ~~them~~ an offer of filling a large room with those metals, as high up as an ordinary man could reach his hand; a proposal which, tho' they at first doubted, they at length accepted of: and accordingly, there was a small party of Spaniards sent with some of his attendants to Cuzco and other cities, to bring in the promised treasure.

About this time Almagro arrived, in very bad health, at St. Michael's from Cape Francisco, into which place he had been driven by contrary winds, and had lost by fatiguing marches, bad weather, and a worse country, about forty of his men, having had but one hundred and fifty at first. Here he was informed of Pizarro's vast success; and, fearing that he would refuse him his dividend of the treasures, he consulted with his officers, whether they should not proceed in quest of some new discovery independent of him: a faithful account of which deliberation was dispatched by Almagro's secretary, who bore his master no good-will, to Pizarro; upon which he immediately sent several very obliging messages to Almagro, inviting him to a conjunction, and assuring him of his integrity; at the same time observing to him, that there were some people, who, with a view to their own advantage,

tage, endeavoured to sow dissensions between them, against which he entreated him to be on his guard; as admitting them to take any effect must certainly end in the ruin of one, if not of both of them, as well as the destruction of their enterprise: and, to support this advice, he sent him proofs of the treachery of his secretary, whom Almagro instantly caused to be hanged up.

There was an ingratitude in this last article, which throws an additional blemish on the character of Pizarro, whom it is impossible to excuse; however, there was great policy in his conduct upon the whole, since the forces which he had with him were not alone sufficient to complete the conquest of Peru; and had Almagro set up against him, it might have given new strength to the Indians, and ended not only in depriving him of his plunder, but in overturning their scheme, and destroying them both.

This reinforcement made Atabaliba still more solicitous about his liberty; judging very wisely, that the insolence of the Spaniards would increase with their strength: besides, some of the Spanish officers, who had accompanied his messengers to Cuzco to bring his ransom, had had a conference with the imprisoned Huefcar, who informed them of his brother's cruelty and usurpation, and promised to reward them much more magnificently than Atabaliba could possibly do, provided they, who he understood were come to do justice to all, would release him.

Of these overtures Atabaliba having received information, he determined on the death of his brother; but, lest the Spaniards should, from his perpetrating such a fact openly, take occasion to condemn himself to die, he resolved to sound Pizarro's inclination upon the subject; which he did, by informing him, with great affectation of grief and concern,

concern, that his brother had been murdered in confinement by his keepers; which piece of news had very little effect upon Pizarro, who only slightly observed upon it, "That it was the fortune of war, some fell by the sword, some were made prisoners, and each who ventured should be satisfied with his fate."

It was not without great pleasure that Atabaliba found Pizarro so little moved at this accident; and, in consequence of his behaviour, he immediately dispatched private orders for Huelcar's death; which were straight fulfilled, tho' in what manner is doubtful: some writers affirming, that he was drowned; others, that his body was cut into small bits, that his subjects might not pay to it the same honours they usually do to their dead incas.

It was reported that, before he fell, he addressed himself thus to the murderers: "'Tis true, my reign has not been very long; but, in death I have this comfort, that he whose cruelty thus bounds it, who scruples not wading to a throne thro' the blood of his brother, and his lawful prince, shall be disappointed in his aspiring views, and survive me but a very short time."

In some time after, the treasure intended for Atabaliba's ransom arrived; but Pizarro falling short in his hopes of the quantity, was informed that there remained much more behind, in the temple of the Invisible God, whither he dispatched his three brothers, and some of Atabaliba's officers in search of it, but they could find no more than a sum amounting to ninety thousand crowns value, besides what the soldiers embezzled: the priests who were warned of the avarice of the Spaniards, and had heard of their treating irreverently some other temples, having previously carried away above four hundred loads of gold, silver and jewels,

els, which they buried in the earth, or at least conveyed so far off, that they never fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

About this time Almagro arrived in the neighbourhood of Caxamalca, whom Pizarro received with the strongest marks of affection and esteem; giving him a very satisfactory share of his booty, and distributing one hundred thousand ducats among the men that accompanied him: and now Pizarro, having deducted the emperor's fifths, divided the rest of his spoil, which was prodigious, among his own officers and men, feigning to pay a very singular respect to any thing that appeared like merit; and it is said, the meanest foot soldier in his service at this time received for his share two thousand pounds sterling, tho' the whole that was divided did not amount to more than one fifth of Atabaliba's ransom; and Pizarro reserved to himself the inca's golden chair, with some other valuable curiosities.

Ferdinand Pizarro was chosen as the fittest person to wait on the emperor Charles V. with his share of the treasure, and an account of their proceeding: several private soldiers insisted upon being left at liberty to go along with him, which was violently opposed by Almagro and most of the council, as it tended to weaken their little army considerably; but this opposition was over-ruled by Pizarro, who judiciously observed, that permitting them to go, was one of the most political steps that could be taken; for, as their meanest soldiers departed so very rich, they might be certain of gaining ten men for one that they should lose.

“ You rejoice,” said Atabaliba to Ferdinand, when he came to take leave of him, having a peculiar respect for each other, “ that you are returning to your native soil; but for me, who, when you are gone, have no friend left among
“ your

“ your countrymen, it is a melancholy prospect !
 “ the newly arrived leader, meaning Almagro,
 “ wherefore I know not, owes me no good-will ;
 “ and the man you call treasurer, regards me with
 “ an evil eye : let us then take our last farewell ;
 “ for these cruel people, I see it plainly, will not
 “ allow me to live, to welcome your return.”

He was not wrong in his prognostic ; Almagro had, since the first assurance he received of the treasures of this country, imagined, that, were Atabaliba put out of the way, they would be the more easily seized upon ; and, tho’ Pizarro at first treated this proposition with the contempt it deserved, yet, in a very short time, resentment induced him to countenance what honour taught him to abhor. He was incensed at Atabaliba’s seeming to slight him ; and a short account of the reason of this will not, we hope, be deemed tedious.

The cruelty and ambition of Atabaliba did not hinder his being wise, penetrating and curious ; he was very anxious in his inquiries after the customs and manners of the Spaniards ; but what particularly puzzled him was their writing and reading, not being able for a long time to find out whether these were natural or acquired gifts.

In order to be satisfied of this particular, he asked one of the Spanish soldiers, if he could write the name of God on his thumb-nail, which, in consequence of the soldier’s answering in the affirmative, he begged that he would do. This inscription Atabaliba shewed to many of the Spaniards, all of whom explained it ; so that he began to think that these were indeed divine and innate gifts ; when unfortunately Pizarro falling in his way, to him he also produced his nail, demanding from him the sense of the inscription : but Pizarro, who could neither write nor read, blushing, turned off short from him, without resolving the question. Thenceforward the

inca inferred these were the acquisitions of study or instruction; and, while it lessened his opinion of the greatness of the Spaniards in general, gave him but a poor impression of the general, whose origin, he was persuaded, must have been but mean, since he was exceeded in knowledge by the poorest of his soldiers.

The dislike, or rather distaste that he ever shewed to Pizarro, laid the foundation of his ruin; which was completed by the villany of Phillipillo, who, having taken it in his head to fall in love with one of the inca's wives, was treated with a good deal of contempt, and a complaint preferred against him to Pizarro, which was but little attended to: upon this he accused the inca of plotting, and actually contriving the destruction of all the Spaniards; which story, groundless and ridiculous as it must necessarily appear to a man of common sense, was laid hold of by the two generals, both foes to the unhappy inca; and with several other trivial matters formed into articles of accusation; in consequence of which he was tried, found guilty, and condemned to be burned: but this sentence was graciously changed into strangling, on his consenting to be baptized, which he did to avoid so horrible a death as burning; for it is a question if he knew one article of the Christian faith: but however, he was baptized, and that was sufficient to make him a Christian in the eye of enthusiasm.

It was advanced against him, amongst other things, that he had usurped the throne of Peru, being himself a bastard; that he had caused his brother, the lawful monarch, to be imprisoned; that he was an idolater; that he had permitted his subjects to be sacrificed; that he had waged unnecessary wars; that he made away with the public treasures; that, since he had been the Spaniards prisoner, he had encouraged the Indians to rebel against them, &c.

Thus

Thus there was an attempt made at giving the colour of justice to one of the most illegal and barbarous combinations that could possibly be imagined; which, to their honour be it spoken, was violently opposed by most of the persons of family or distinction in the service, who publicly declared, that his kindnesses to them merited a better return from the Spaniards; and that they saw no right they had to condemn a sovereign prince, whom, if they intended to act fairly by him, they ought to send, together with the articles of his impeachment to Spain, and let him be disposed of according to the emperor's pleasure.

Notwithstanding this, Pizarro and his council proceeded as they pleased, until they had carried matters to the extremities we have already mentioned, and poor Atabaliba was no more an object of disturbance.

Father Vincent, who was their religious tool during the whole process, prostituted, in this affair, not only his character as a priest, but reflected disgrace on the whole Christian church, by acting in such a manner as ought to make his memory always be held in detestation.

It has been asserted, but the assertion has not been supported by proof, that the Indians insisted upon the death of Atabaliba, to retaliate that of his brother Huescar. That this is but a very lame defence for Pizarro's conduct, appears from his not proclaiming the late inca's brother emperor; a step that would have saved his credit in some measure: besides, after this, we find the Peruvians every where acting against the Spaniards offensively, which they had not done before.

C H A P. V.

One of Atabaliba's generals sets up for himself: Paullu, a brother of the inca, joins Pizarro: a retrospect of the affairs of Peru: Manco Capac acknowledged inca of Peru by the Spaniards: Pedro de Alvarado, a companion of Cortes, enters Peru; but is prevailed upon to retire to his government in Mexico: Pizarro lays the foundation of the city of Lima, as also of Truxillo: Almagro acts very imprudently, but is soon brought to reason: the mines of Potosi discovered.

AFTER the inca's death, Rumnavi one of his generals, who commanded the rear-guard of his army, seized upon the province of Quito, and put to death all such officers as he suspected to have been firmly attached to his late master: while Quisquis, another of his generals, who had been Huescar's executioner, with still a better army, attempted to secure part of the province of Cuzco; but far from shewing any spirit, fled before a very few Spaniards that were sent in pursuit of him; and basely murdered a few others, whom he made a shift to surprize.

This general, hoping thereby to support his superiority, endeavoured to persuade Paullu, a younger brother of Huescar, whom he contrived to get into his hands, to assume the reins of the empire; which this young prince gallantly refused, telling him he scorned to erect his grandeur on the ruin of his country; that he thought it the more preferable to be a good man than a bad monarch, and he despised an authority devolving to him at the expence of his family, to which justice as yet
gave

gave him no right, his brother Manco Capac, who was still living, being the true heir.

A reply thus brave and unexpected had such an effect upon Quisquis, that tho' he had this prince in his power, he allowed him to retire, and join Francis Pizarro, to whom he behaved with the same greatness of soul; telling him, that if, as he proclaimed, he came among them to be the administrator of justice, he would shew himself such, by declaring for his brother, who had already a good army, and, if supported by him, would be able once again to give a lustre to the Peruvian throne.

This had the desired effect, for tho' Pizarro had ordered a son of Atabaliba to be proclaimed inca, issuing, in his name, such orders as best promoted the Spanish interest; this representation of royalty dying soon, he found it more to his advantage to join Manco Capac, whom he caused to be proclaimed inca, and assisted at his being inaugurated in the same manner as his predecessors had been; at the same time promising that he would strictly observe the treaty signed by Francis de Chaves, while, for his part, the inca gave some hopes of his inclining to Christianity: but for an illustration of these transactions we must go a little back.

Atauchi, a brother of Atabaliba, having got together a good deal of treasure to purchase his ransom, was advancing for that purpose, towards Caxamalco, when he received an account of his death, as also that the Spaniards were marching off to the capital city of Cuzco, with a view of establishing their power still more firmly, by taking possession of that place.

Being extremely irritated at his brother's murder, he immediately raised a body of about six thousand men, and with them lay in ambush upon the road thro' which the Spaniards were to pass, making

making so successful a sally, that several of them were killed and taken prisoners; among the latter was Sancho de Cuellar, who had drawn up the process against the late unfortunate inca, and attended at his execution; Ataucchi had at first resolved to have sacrificed them all to the manes of his brother, had not Quisquis, who had joined him, very happily fallen upon another body of Spaniards, seventeen of whom he killed, and made several prisoners, among whom were Francisco de Chaves, and Hernando de Haro, who had openly protested against the usage of Atabaliba; and Ataucchi, out of gratitude to these, forgave the rest; Sancho de Cuellar excepted, whom he ordered to be strangled on the same spot at Caxamalca, whereon Atabaliba, under his inspection, had expired.

This generous Indian not only gave his Spanish prisoners their lives, but took care that such as were wounded should be cured, dismissing them with considerable presents, on Francisco de Chaves signing the following conditions, viz.

“ That all acts of hostility should be forgiven
 “ on both sides; that peace should for the future
 “ be inviolably maintained between the Indians
 “ and Spaniards; that the latter should allow
 “ Manco Capac, the true heir, to mount the throne
 “ of Peru; that they should set at liberty such
 “ Indians as they held in chains; that, for the fu-
 “ ture, they should not fetter them; but be satis-
 “ fied with their attending as menial servants, and
 “ not as slaves; that the laws of Peru, so far as
 “ they did not clash with the Christian religion,
 “ should be allowed to be in full force; that this
 “ treaty should be ratified by Francis Pizarro, and
 “ his sovereign the emperor of the Romans.”

It was granted to the Spaniards, that they should have free exercise of their religion; lands assigned them

them for their subsistence, and untaxed liberty of trading.

Had the Spaniards acted in the least upon the principles of honour or virtue, nay even on those of common discretion, they had observed strictly this treaty: in consequence of which, all Peru had in time become Christians without blood-shed. But pride, avarice, and luxury, shut the ear of reason. However, these consequences we shall but slightly touch upon, as we are writing a history of the first discovery of Peru; and not an account of all the subsequent transactions.

Francisco Pizarro by ratifying this agreement, not that he intended to keep it, made all the forces under the command of Manco Capac, whom he acknowledged inca, his friends: besides which the inhabitants of Cuzco who had fled from their dwellings, were encouraged to return back; with a better opinion of the Spanish lenity and justice than before.

Indeed there was a necessity for this conduct; because Rumnavi and other generals had assembled an army in the southern provinces, and possessed themselves of Quito, which they abandoned on the approach of Sebastian Belalcazar, who was sent with a small detachment against them, having first set fire to the late inca's palace, in the great hall of which there was consumed prodigious wealth, which had for that purpose been thrown into it.

Pizarro's power was moreover threatened with opposition from other quarters; so that wisdom and policy obliged him to ensure some friendship.

The brave Don Pedro de Alvarado, Cortes's gallant companion, of whom we have heretofore largely spoken in the account of Mexico, had landed at Puerto Viejo, with an army of five hundred men, the greater part of which was well mounted

and consisted of men of birth, who having before experienced hardships, were as good troops as any in America; and were in hopes of sharing in the wealth of Peru. These, having refreshed themselves at Fort St. Michael, continued their march towards Quito; but were met, in the valley of Riobamba, by a large body of troops sent by Pizarro, under command of Almagro who had joined Belalcazar.

A battle seemed now almost inevitable, when both the generals, seeing how destructive it must be to them let victory side either way, entered into a mutual accommodation, and a private treaty was signed between them, whereby Alvarado bound himself, in consideration of his being paid one hundred thousand pesos of gold, to retire to his government of Guatemala with all his forces, and never either attempt or encourage an invasion into Peru, during the lives of Pizarro or Almagro.

And that the forces of Alvarado might not be dissatisfied, there was a form of treaty published, in which it was stipulated that each party should be left at liberty to prosecute their separate discoveries to their own advantage; by which means, Alvarado had secured a footing for such of his men as should chuse, on his departure, to stay behind him, equal to those of Pizarro.

Things being thus amicably settled, Alvarado and Almagro joined forces, intending to march to Cuzco, where Pizarro was then quartered, to procure his ratification of the treaty.

It is necessary for us to take notice, that the peace between Manco and Pizarro was concluded after Almagro had left Cuzco to go in search of Alvarado; consequently at this time he was totally ignorant of it: nor had the confirmation of it yet reached Quisquis, who was encamped near
Caxamalca,

Caxamalca, in expectation of it, with a good army, which he was then ready to disband.

The two generals seeing so numerous a body of forces, thought it incumbent upon them to make an attack, which they accordingly did; and gained at first considerable advantage, for Quisquis had not the least suspicion of such proceedings: however, he secured a retreat to some neighbouring rocks, the steep accesses of which he defended with undaunted courage, rolling down huge stones upon the assailants with such good aim, as to kill several of them, particularly the horse; thus he defended himself till night, under cover of which he retired to the hills; but his rear being the next day attacked on the banks of a river, after maintaining a very difficult pass for many hours, secured a safe retreat higher up the country, whence in a few days after he made a sally with some success; and, notwithstanding he lost very considerably, did not seem dispirited, having killed above fifty Spaniards.

The coming of Pizarro put an end to these feuds: he had marched to meet Alvarado on the road, under pretence of paying him the greater respect, but in reality to prevent his approaching nearer Cuzco, lest the vast riches of the place should tempt him to infringe his articles, and stay longer than he had stipulated.

Pizarro, before he left Cuzco, had taken a formal leave of the inca Manco Capac, telling him, he was going to meet some of his countrymen, with whom he was to settle the peace upon a firm footing; and recommending his two brothers to his protection during his absence. The inca, in return, assured him that he wished him a prosperous journey; and that his kindred should be as dear to him as his own brethren; at the same time that he dispatched messengers all the way thro'

which Pizarro was to march, ordering his subjects to treat as their friends him and his people.

Pizarro, on his arriving at Caxamalca, had a meeting with the Indian chiefs, whom he informed of the treaty subsisting between Manco and him, assuring them, that his countrymen had been entirely ignorant of it, or they had never fallen upon them; and promising that thenceforward all hostilities should cease.

Then marching forward, in the valley of Pacha Camac he met Alvarado, whom he embraced in the tenderest manner; not only agreeing to perform the articles stipulated by Almagro, but making him a present of twenty thousand pesos of gold more, by way of retaliating him for the expence he had been at in marching to his assistance with those persons who joined him, and quitted Alvarado's service, there being a good number of them; besides which he gave him several beautiful emeralds, turquoises, and utensils of gold, curiously wrought, for his own private use, at the same time commanding all his officers to look upon him, during his stay, as their commander.

Alvarado, having sufficiently rested and refreshed himself, took his leave of the two generals, well satisfied both with the treatment he had met with, and the treasures he had acquired, retiring to the sea-coast, where he embarked on board his own ships, having brought two with him for Guatemala, much more thinly attended than when he left it.

Almagro went back to Cuzco, and Pizarro staid behind to search out a proper place for founding a new city, which he at length did on the banks of the little river Lima, in twelve degrees thirty minutes south latitude, one hundred and twenty miles west from Cuzco. The first stone of this city was laid on the 6th day of January 1534, wherefore he called it the city of Kings, or Villa de los Reyes; but it
has



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4. Arch Bishop's Palace.
5. Inquisition.
6. University.
7. Mint.
8. Copper Mill.
9. The Colledge.
10. The Cathedral.
- a, a, a, Churches.
- b, b, b, Hospitals.
- c, c, c, Monastries.
- d, d, d, Nunneries.

Plan of the City
of
LIMA
Capital of Peru.



A Scale of Fathoms

100 200 300 400 500

J. Jefferys sculp.

has since been much better known by the name of Lima.

Having settled some of his people here, he portioned the neighbouring lands among them, and allotted a sufficient number of Indians to each, to assist in the planting. He proceeded to a spot about three hundred miles farther north on the south-sea coast, where he founded another city, which he called Truxillo, after the name of his birth-place.

While Francis Pizarro was thus wisely employed, he received news that his brother Ferdinand had been as successful at the court of Spain as could be wished; having procured for him the title of of marquis De los Atabillos, and a large increase of territory, which was to be distinguished by the name of New Castile; also that he had obtained for Almagro the post of marshal of Peru, and a government two hundred leagues in extent from north to south, independent of Pizarro's, and named New Toledo.

The report of these matters reaching the ears of Almagro, before any authentic accounts had arrived, he shook off the title of Pizarro's lieutenant, and assumed that of governor of Cuzco, under pretence that it was out of Pizarro's jurisdiction, which he affirmed extended only two hundred leagues from the line: in this usurpation he was opposed by Pizarro's brothers, John and Gonfalo; the consequence of which was an open rupture; and there being many partizans on each side, several skirmishes ensued, and some lives were lost.

The news of these dissensions soon reached Pizarro, whom we shall hereafter often distinguish by the title of the marquis, in his new town of Truxillo: who, seeing the immediate necessity of his presence among them, without interrupting the settlement of his new colony, in which he left all

his Spanish followers, committed himself without any attendants to the care of the Indians; who bore him on their shoulders in a hammock, relieving one another at proper stages, and travelling so expeditiously, that he entered Cuzco before there was the least suspicion of his approach.

Here he soon brought Almagro to reason, convinced him of his error; assured him, that if, on the arrival of their different commissions from Spain, he should dislike what was allotted to him, he would divide with him the government of Peru; and, at the same time, observed to him, that as by all accounts the territory to the southward of Cuzco, called Chili, was still richer in gold and silver than Peru, he would consent to his marching, at the head of the best part of their united forces, to discover and possess it.

Tho' the Spaniards endeavoured to keep fair with the Indians, as their assistance was still in many cases necessary to them, yet they awed them with troops in different places, strengthening Belalcazar at Quito; while a large body marched to keep the inhabitants about the mountains of the Andes in subjection: and Almagro, with a considerable party prepared for his southern expedition, on which he set out about the beginning of the year 1535; the inca Manco, in hopes to bind the Spaniards thereby more strongly to his friendship, assisting him with fifteen thousand men, under the conduct of his brother Paullu, and Villachuma the high priest of the Indians, whom we find mentioned by the Spanish historians under the name of Villahoma.

In this expedition the province of Charcas was first discovered, a country barren and inhospitable, which, tho' judged by Almagro not worth keeping, has since proved the most valuable acquisition made by the Spanish power in America, as it con-
tains

tains the rich mountains of Potosi, which have yielded more silver than any other mines hitherto known.

C H A P. VI.

Almagro goes upon a progress to Chili: meets with vast hardships, loses many men: the good nature and kindness of the Indians; he abandons this discovery, to usurp the government of Cuzco: the inca raises two hundred thousand men, and attacks Cuzco: John Pizarro killed: the inca flies to the mountains: Cuzco surrenders to Almagro, and he obtains several advantages over Pizarro's people; with whom he has a meeting, and makes a treaty, which is broken by Pizarro; who causes him to be put to death.

ALMAGRO was informed of two passages into Chili, but both of them almost impenetrable; the one being thro' a hot, sandy desert, where his people must be prepared to encounter the severest attacks of heat and thirst; the other, tho' much shorter, infinitely more inconvenient, lying over prodigious high mountains crowned with eternal snow, so craggy as scarce to admit of being climbed, and so intensely cold, that the air was, at one season of the year only, tolerable.

Almagro chose the latter, because the shorter road, and persisted in his choice in spite of the representations of Paullu and the Indians; but he had reason to repent of this obstinacy, his men being obliged to remove the snow with their hands, making thereby very short journeys, and soon consuming their provisions; so that they sustained inconceivable distresses, losing above ten thousand Indians, and a hundred and fifty Spaniards, exclusive of

such as lost their fingers and toes, notwithstanding the latter were clothed in a manner particularly warm.

After a tedious and toilsome march of more than six hundred miles, they arrived in Copayapu, a province lying in twenty six degrees south latitude, subject to the inca of Peru, where, thro' the influence of Paullu, they were chearfully entertained; the inhabitants not only bringing them plenty of provision, but also, being informed of their value for gold, making them presents to the amount of five hundred thousand ducats.

Indeed the good nature and simplicity of the Indians appeared in nothing more than their readiness to supply the Spaniards with this commodity, when they had discovered the estimation in which they held it; and so far did their complacency extend, that when they first arrived at Caxamalca, the poor Indians, observing their horses champing upon their iron-bits, believed that they fed upon provision of that solid nature, and therefore supplied their mangers with bars of gold, which they thought would be more agreeable to them, from the liking their masters had to it.

Almagro found the authority of Paullu, whom he persuaded that he intended to annex Chili to the inca's dominions, of great service to him in his progress; being by that means received in many places with great cordiality, and only opposed in few; so that he might easily have established colonies, as was afterwards done, in very advantageous situations, had not a sort of infatuation pointed all his views at Cuzco, where, notwithstanding all treaty, he was determined to rule; affirming from the commission, which he by this time had received from the king of Spain, that this city fell within his jurisdiction. And this unhappy determination was the final cause of his destruction.

His commission was brought him by Juan de Herrada and Ruis Diaz, who joined him with recruits from Cuzco ; having passed the Cordilleras, the road Almagro himself had come, with very little fatigue ; in the month of November, which is the summer of that climate, and the only season in the passage is free.

To pursue his darling project of presiding in Cuzco, Almagro abandoned all his views upon Chili, and began his march northward ; but his army, terrified at the remembrance of what they had before suffered in passing the Cordilleras, absolutely refused again to face them ; wherefore he was forced to take his route thro' the desert, under cover of the hills, and bordering upon the sea-coast : here the Indians told him there was no water, but what was to be found in standing pools corrupted by the sun's heat, and even these eighteen, or perhaps twenty-four miles one from the other.

However, borachio's, or leather-bottles, were contrived to carry their water, and parties of Indians dispatched before the army, to drain the wells of the stagnated water, and leave the fresh at liberty to rise. These two expedients were of vast use to them in their march ; so that they passed these barren tracts, with much less difficulty, than it was at first imagined they should be able to do.

Things in the mean time fell into great confusion in Peru : the marquiss having retired to Lima, upon some business, the inca Manco finding there were no thoughts of restoring him to his crown and power, as had been promised by the treaty of Caxamalca, made his escape from Cuzco, abusing the liberty that Ferdinand Pizarro, who was very much his friend, had given him, of going to a solemn festival held at Yucaya, four leagues from Cuzco ; where he laid the scheme of quickly

raising three armies, and falling on Lima, Truxillo, and Cuzco, at one and the same time.

These designs were intimated to Paullu, in the army of Almagro, then on his march thro' the desert; but he being a man of strict honour, refused to join them at any rate, or to break faith with the Spaniards: in return for which conduct Almagro saluted him with the title of emperor, which he with reluctance accepted of, receiving it only that his country might not want a protector. It was mere chance that manifested this integrity of Paullu; for a conspiracy having been set on foot in Almagro's camp, against his life, Phillipillo, who was deeply engaged in it, at first accused Paullu of being the principal abettor of it; but this being very inconsistent with that prince's behaviour and conduct, Almagro ordered the interpreter to be tortured; on which he owned the generous deportment of Paullu, confessed that he had accused him wrongfully, and at the same time acknowledged that the articles he had formerly trumped up against Atabaliba had no foundation in truth; on all which accounts he justly suffered a most ignominious death.

In the mean time Manco Capac assembled above two hundred thousand men, with whom, after having cut off several Spaniards that he caught straggling about the mines, he laid siege to Cuzco, which was defended by a very small force, provided with a good train of artillery, and a few horses; however, he was often repulsed with very great slaughter.

The Indians having, in their first onset, gained possession of a very strong fortress, were not driven out of it in less than five or six days; and John Pizarro, after having acted very bravely in an attack upon it, taking off his helmet to cool himself, was hit upon the temple by a stone, of which stroke he died in about three days, to the great regret of his party; for he was certainly the bravest of the brothers.

When

When the inca heard of Almagro's approaching Cuzco, he retired ; and tho' Almagro endeavoured to persuade him to a treaty, he absolutely declined it, resolving never more to hear of terms from people who had hitherto kept none with him.

He also took a step, that must at first appear very surprizing, and yet the reasons he gave in defence of it spoke him a politician ; this was disbanding his army, and privately retiring to the mountains : and to such of his officers as strove to dissuade him from it, by representing that no time could ever promise him more success than this, in which Almagro and Pizarro were at open variance, he answered, that notwithstanding all animosities, they would certainly make head against him, should he make a shew of opposing them ; but it was time enough for him to return and declare his intentions, when they were sufficiently weakened by mutual contentions.

To those who consider the hardship of collecting an army, this must seem a very injudicious course ; but it ought to be remembered, that so implicit was the respect of the Indians for their sovereign, that, on the least intimation of their service being necessary to him, their voluntary assembling for his service was as quick, as their dispersion was sudden.

Almagro now appeared before the walls of Cuzco, summoning the place to receive him as governor, according to the tenor of the royal commission ; but the magistrates answering, that this was a point of too great consequence to be concluded upon at once, and that some time for deliberation was requisite, he, supposing it to be an excuse formed by Ferdinand Pizarro, that he might gain time, entered the city after night-fall, attacked the deputy-governor's house, who refused to surrender, until Almagro ordered it to be set on fire, which

forced out both him and his brother Gonsalo, who were quickly made prisoners.

After this exploit Almagro summoned the magistracy, whom he compelled to acknowledge him governor; at the same time appointing de Rojas his deputy.

The marquís, who was still at Lima, where he had no intelligence of these transactions, fearing, as he received no news from Cuzco, that the Indians might have come down upon his brothers, sent thither five hundred Spanish horse, commanded by Don Alonso de Alvarado; under whom he appointed Pedro de Lerma, who, being an older officer, never forgave the preference given to Alvarado: and the news of his discontent being conveyed to Almagro, they made a private agreement, in consequence of which Lerma took the first opportunity of deserting Alvarado with a large body of men; whereupon the latter was vigorously attacked, and, after a stout resistance, his whole party routed, and himself taken prisoner; an event which had never happened, had his men been obedient to his orders.

The troops which had deserted to Almagro upon this engagement were very nobly rewarded, and marshalled into a body, the command of which was given to Pedro de Lerma. And so much did it raise the spirits of the enemies of the Pizarros, that it was with great difficulty Almagro could preserve the lives of the two brothers, who were his prisoners; Organez, his lieutenant-general, and several other officers, insisting strongly on their being put to death.

The news of this defeat made a very deep impression upon the heart of the marquís; who finding himself not strong enough to make head against Almagro, his whole force scarcely exceeding four hundred men, resolved to try what policy could do: wherefore he sent deputies to Cuzco, to propose an accommodation; which Almagro, notwithstanding

standing his friends urged that Pizarro would never adhere to a treaty, received with great civility, promising an interview with the marquiss, wherein commissioners should be chosen to settle their respective boundaries. Accordingly he marched out of Cuzco, leaving therein a sufficient garrison, at the head of five hundred Spaniards and upwards, taking the road to Lima, and carrying Ferdinand Pizarro prisoner in his train; Gonfalo and Alvarado being left in the town under the care of De Rojas, whose person they found means to seize upon after Amagro's departure. Then they made their escape to Lima, accompanied by about sixty men, whom they had won to their interest, bringing along with them the deputy governor in fetters.

Organez and his partizans, upon the news of this escape, urged Almagro to revenge it by the death of his prisoner Ferdinand, a point they had laboured hard at before; but it was a piece of cruelty that he absolutely refused; and soon after met the marquiss at Mala, with twelve men on each side, to terminate their difference. It is affirmed by some writers, that they embraced each other in the most friendly manner; but according to others, the deportment of Pizarro was proud and reserved: however, we are rather inclined to credit the former account, it being inconsistent with Pizarro's general character to act so impolitically, upo a crisis so very important and ticklish.

However, this conference was very suddenly broke off by one of Almagro's followers pushing abruptly into his presence, crying out, that he was betrayed; on which he took horse and rode off, leaving matters entirely unsettled.

This alarm was occasioned by the approach of Gonfalo with seven hundred men, which induced Organez also to advance with his troops, to repel, by force, the treachery he suspected in agitation.

Each

Each side by this rupture seemed ready for war, when the marquiss again found means to persuade Almagro to listen to terms; and a treaty was agreed upon, and sworn to on each side, whereby, among many other advantages, the possession of Cuzco was ceded to Almagro, until the decision of the emperor should be known; in consequence of which Ferdinand was set at liberty, promising upon oath not to act against Almagro; and a colony that had been lately planted by the latter at Chinca, between Cuzco and Zangalla, in fifteen degrees south latitude, was removed.

The marquiss had no sooner obtained the coveted point of his brother's liberty, than he broke thro' the treaty, sending a notary and witnesses to summon Almagro to surrender Cuzco, and the places he had conquered, otherwise he must expect to be treated as a rebel by all the Spanish settlements.

This dishonourable method of proceeding, Pizarro is the more inexcusable, as he had, by one of his own people, much about that time, received an express from court, whereby each governor was enjoined, under pain of the emperor's displeasure, to keep quiet possession of such places as should, at the time of that messenger's arrival, own their respective jurisdiction; and, in case of supposing themselves injured, they were directed to appeal to the council of the Indies; but these orders he thought fit to suppress.

Organez now upbraided Almagro for neglecting his advice, and he, being convinced of his error, tho' too late, heartily repented of it: however, he gave orders for securing Cuzco, and marched with his troops to the Salinas, so called from a fountain of brackish water there springing, not far from the banks of the Apurima, and a few leagues from Cuzco, where the marquiss's army, led by Gonsalo,

falo, came up, and, after an engagement of two hours continuance, entirely defeated him; and Organéz, after having behaved with great gallantry, growing faint with his wounds, accepted quarter from a person called Fuentez, who cruelly murdered him in cold blood.

Ferdinand Pizarro was unhorsed in the heat of the engagement by Lerma, who at the same time upbraided him with his perjury; his armour however saved his life; and Lerma being afterwards born down by some of Pizarro's people, was treacherously stabbed, but he recovered to be butchered in a more cruel manner.

Almagro, who was carried into the field in a litter, being too weak to sit a horse, finding his forces defeated, retired to the citadel of Cuzco, whither he was pursued by Alvarado, to whom he was soon obliged to surrender.

He was no sooner entirely in the power of his enemies, than Ferdinand, determined to take revenge on him for his long imprisonment, and perhaps afraid of his making head against the Pizarros again, for he was not only brave but well beloved, caused him to be accused of high-treason; for having seized the city of Cuzco, made a secret treaty with the inca, encroached on the government conferred by royal appointments upon Pizarro, and fought two battles against the forces of his sovereign, whereby much Christian blood had been shed, and the progress of the Spanish arms considerably retarded.

For these offences Almagro marshal of Peru was tried, convicted, and condemned to die, although he insisted on appealing to the emperor; Alvarado pleading strongly that his appeal should be admitted, and vainly attempting to soften Ferdinand's inflexibility, by representing the kindness with which Almagro had used them both
when

when they were his prisoners : nay, he himself addressed Ferdinand in the most persuasive and pitiable terms ; he entreated him to remember the time had been when he had spared his life, in opposition to numbers who were bent upon his destruction ; to recollect the share he had in advancing the Pizarros to their present glory, and subduing the surrounding nations ; he prayed him to consider, that, bowing under a weight of age and infirmities, a very short time must level him with the grave, in the common course of nature ; for which æra that he might be reserved, he conjured them to take a retrospect of his conduct, when they would find he always befriended the Pizarros, and advanced the glory of his country.

But, alas, his entreaties were as ineffectual, as the grateful interposition of Alvarado ; for, in a very short time after sentence had been passed upon him, Ferdinand, under pretence that there was a design on foot to rescue him from prison, ordered him to be strangled, in the seventy fifth, tho' some say only the sixty fifth year of his age ; after which the dead body was beheaded in a public square at Cuzco, and lay most part of the day almost naked, exposed on a scaffold, without any body daring to bury it, lest they should thereby provoke his enemies, who were inhuman enough to pay no regard to its interment, till a few poor Indians, who had been his servants, towards evening, wrapped it in a coarse sheet, and conveyed it to a church, where it was buried by the clergy under their high altar.

Almagro left behind him a natural son, by an Indian woman, whom, at his death, he bequeathed to the care of James Alvarado ; who desiring Pizarro to evacuate so much of the country as he had always allowed to be under Almagro's government, that he might take possession of it for the youth, was haughtily answered, that his government

vernment was now unbounded, and he knew of no body that had a right to insist on sharing it with him, since Almagro was no more : Alvarado, thus repulsed, made the best of his way to Spain, taking with him such evidences as were proper to support what he had a mind to represent at court.

C H A P. VII.

The inca makes a stand against the Spaniards : Ferdinand Pizarro imprisoned in Spain : the mines of Potosi, how shared : the marquiss's cruelty to the followers of Almagro : a remarkable story of twelve of them : his death concerted at Lima : he is assassinated and all his attendants : a summary of his character : Almagro's son proclaimed governor of Peru.

ABOUT this time the inca Manco strove to make a push for driving out the invaders, and proved a considerable hindrance to their progress ; for the Peruvians having, in a great measure, got the better of the terror impressed on them at first by fire arms and horses, were now able to make a stand against them ; nor did there want some instances of their driving their enemies before them : nay, it is certain, that above two thousand Spaniards found it much harder to keep the ground which they had conquered, than four hundred only had found in the conquest of it ; and, it seems indisputable, that had not some particular bodies of Indians been so infatuated as to adhere closely and faithfully to his interest, supplying him with provisions, discovering all the strong passes, and constantly giving him intelligence, Pizarro might have been driven from his acquisitions in the most disgraceful manner.

Measures

Measures of severity very often rather irritate than assuage civil dissensions, and this is evidenced in the death of Almagro ; after which the faction against the Pizarros gathered strength daily ; so that Ferdinand, who had been the chief cause of it, thought it best to retire to Spain, with all the gold that he could collect ; for, from the clamours of the soldiery, he suspected there were some designs upon his life : but Alvarado had prepared for his reception at court, where he was arrested as soon as he arrived, and flung into prison ; and, notwithstanding that Alvarado died in a short time after, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, his defence was so very weak, that he continued more than twenty years in confinement.

The mines of Potosi, in the province of Charcas, were the most valuable acquisitions made after Almagro's death, which the marquiss divided among the conquerors, having first founded the city of La Plata, so named from its situation.

To his brother Ferdinand, then in Spain, he assigned a considerable portion of them ; and also to his brother Gonzalo, who was engaged in subduing the inca Manco.

Gonzalo, who was governor of Quito, having driven the inca to the mountains, turned his thoughts to making new discoveries ; for which purpose he marched well attended to the eastward, in order, if possible, to arrive at some knowledge of the breadth of America ; and, notwithstanding he met with insuperable difficulties, it was by his directions that Orellana, who was one of his officers, coasted down the great river of the Amazons, returning from the mouth of it to the Spanish settlements, on the other side of the American continent, and thereby opening a passage to other before unknown countries, as valuable as any that hitherto had been discovered.

The proceedings of the marquifs Pizarro, after Almagro was put to death, were certainly as injudicious as they were cruel; for, he not only difcharged all officers whom he fufpected to have been inclined to his party, but alfo, confcious of his injufice, and fearing the confequence of their complaining againft him, abfolutely prevented their returning to Spain: and many of them being by thefe means involved in great diftreffs, were reduced to the neceffity of living upon the alms of their countrymen; and twelve of them, who were all men of family, refided in a houfe which was given them by de la Prefa, having but one cloke amongft them all, which they wore by turns, going abroad only one at a time, and de la Prefa dying, Pizarro turned them out of the houfe, publishing an edict at the fame time; whereby he forbade any relief being adminiftered to them, or their adherents, under fevere penalties.

The defpair which this order infpired was much more destructive in its confequences to Pizarro, than poffibly their other diftreffes could ever have been; for finding that their miferies could only be ended by theirs or the marquifs's fall, they refolved upon an open attempt at revenge, which they desperately and bravely put in practice.

Altho' Lima had grown up, under the care and tuition of the marquifs, yet there were many of its inhabitants who pitied the fall of Almagro, fome remembering perhaps how much he had contributed to the reduction of Peru, others recollecting that tendernefs he had for the foldiery, for which he was remarkably beloved; and a third party, who had rifen by his friendship, wanted only a fair opportunity to retaliate his death upon thofe who had perpetrated it. Among thefe, the desperate oppreffed veterans, who laboured under the difadvantages of Pizarro's edict, found refuge

fuge in repairing to Lima in small numbers, of two or three at a time, till they amounted to more than two hundred, who determined to seize the first fair opportunity of executing their design; in the prosecuting of which, however, they were for some time retarded, in hopes that a new commissioner, some of whose attendants were already arrived, dispatched from Spain, purposely to take cognizance of the marquiss's conduct, would do them justice, without forcing them to the necessity of an insurrection.

But, on Sunday June 26th 1541, de Rada, one of the principal conspirators, was alarmed with a report that they were discovered, and the marquiss taking measures to have them all taken off by an ignominious death in less than three hours; this intelligence he hastily communicated to such of his brethren as he could most readily meet: on which, finding that there was no time to be lost, they repaired, one by one, to the number of nineteen, to the house of young Almagro, which stood on one side of the great square of Lima, whence they marched with drawn swords through the market-place towards the marquiss's palace, crying, "Long live the king! but let the tyrant die!" And it is remarkable, that tho' there were above a thousand people in the square at the same time, neither did they meet the smallest opposition, nor did Pizarro receive the least intelligence of their rising; so that they entered his palace very easily, the doors being open.

Pizarro, who was sitting with only two or three people, on the first news of the disturbance, which he received by one of his pages, ordered Francis de Chaves, his lieutenant-general, to secure the great door, which he neglected, supposing it only some mutiny among the soldiers, that his presence would immediately quell, on which he went down stairs; and inquiring wherefore were these commotions,

motions, was only answered by two or three of the conspirators lodging their daggers in his bosom, on which he fell dead at their feet.

The marquiss, hearing them in the gallery, had not time to put on his armour, but, seizing his sword and buckler, defended the dining-room door for some time with great bravery, supported only by his half-brother, Don Francis de Alcantra, and two of his pages, the rest of his company and servants having fled at the beginning of the insurrection; but one of the conspirators pressing home, bore down and killed Don Francis; on which the rest pushed forward with fresh vigour, so that the marquiss was forced to retire before them, and at last sunk down fainting under his wounds, and was soon dispatched: his two pages also, having desperately wounded several of the conspirators, expired by his side, gallantly fighting in his defence to the last gasp.

Thus, in his sixty fifth year, ended the life of Don Francisco Pizarro, the first discoverer and conqueror of Peru; a man, the meanness of whose education appeared in his not being able to write his own name, his secretary always inserting it between two strokes which he drew with a pen: he was certainly endowed with many good qualities, and nature had furnished him with abilities as conspicuous in the busy operations of war, as they were illustrious in the gentler offices of peace; he was brave, prudent, and public-spirited, but unboundedly ambitious, never scrupling to sacrifice his honour to his interest, and tarnishing his greatness by acts of inhumanity that will not bear excuse.

His seizing upon, and countenancing the death of Atabaliba; nay, even his breaking the solemn oath given to Almagro, and forwarding that unfortunate leader's destruction; with his unreasonable and inhuman prosecution of the followers of the latter;

latter ; were sufficient to obscure the glory of a character much more illustrious than his.

The marquiss was never married, but he had many mistresses ; some of them of the inca's family : however, we do not find that he left any children behind him ; and, like his competitor Almagro, he was buried very privately by his own servants, no officer or person of any rank chusing to assist at his obsequies, lest they should thereby incur the displeasure of Almagro's friends. His house, with that of his brothers, and two or three of his professed friends, was immediately plundered ; and it is said, that the value of a million of crowns in gold and silver was found in his palace, the furniture of which was left untouched, being devoted to the use of young Almagro, whose party straight proclaimed him governor of Peru ; and was, the common consequence of power, considerably reinforced from all quarters ; while several disorders were committed in the town, the constant effects of such a reformation.

C H A P. VIII.

Young Almagro's authority opposed in many places : Vaca de Castro arrives from Spain with a new commission : his character : he is joined by Alonzo de Alvarado, Holguin, and many other commanders : Almagro's errors in conduct : Gonzalo Pizarro submits to him : two of Almagro's officers quarrel, one of them murdered ; the survivor killed by Almagro : who refuses all terms from de Castro : with whom he engages, is beaten, taken prisoner, convicted of high-treason, and executed, together with many of his adherents.

THE magistracy of Lima were obliged to own the authority of Almagro, and many other parts of the empire did the same ; but Alonzo de Alvarado, who was in the southern province of Chiachapuca, and Holguin absolutely refused it ; the latter, on the first news of the revolution, making what haste he could to Cuzco, where he erected the royal standard, and sent messengers round to the provinces of Arequipa, Los Charcas, and the neighbouring places, to encourage a spirit of loyalty, and of opposition to this new government ; which induced some persons, who were friends to the faction, to slip away privately, intending to have joined their friends at Lima ; but they were pursued, and soon brought back to their duty.

In the mean time, Holguin having received intelligence, that Almagro was marching at the head of six hundred men, either to take Cuzco, or give him battle ; and knowing himself too weak to oppose them singly, determined, if possible, to accomplish a junction with Alvarado, which he did thus by a feint.

He sent out a party of horse, which surprised some of Almagro's people; two of whom he ordered to be hanged by way of intimidation, and sent the rest back to the camp, desiring them to tell their leader, that he would pay him such visit in a day or two, as should make him rue their meeting: on which Almagro halted to receive him; and Holguin made use of that opportunity to turn off to another road, by which he soon came up with Alvarado, and in a few days joined Vaca de Castro, the new commissioner, who had been so long expected from Spain; and besides his being appointed to examine into the differences subsisting between the generals, was authorized, in case of the marquis Pizarro's death, to assume the dignity and administration of governor of Peru. He had been driven by contrary winds into the bay of Gorgona, and resolved to travel by land to Lima, on the road to which he was thus reinforced, being now seven hundred strong.

Vaca de Castro was a man of sound sense, deep knowledge, firm resolution, and unconquerable integrity: he was bred to the law; but his firm adherence to justice, his contempt for every proceeding that was not perfectly right, and his declining, even in the best cause, any thing that had the slightest appearance of illegality, or that looked like circumvention, prevented him from meeting the encouragement his virtue deserved; so that he was very little known.

We are not informed by what chance a man of such consummate honesty could find interest at court; but it is certain that the emperor had preferred him to this post, without advising with any of his ministers, because he had received some convincing proofs of his virtue; at the same time that he advanced him, saying, that he would try how probity would thrive in an Indian soil, since it was so little cherished

cherished at a Spanish bar; and certainly, such a governor America never experienced, either before or since; his conduct proving fully the truth of the proverb, that Honesty is the best policy.

He ventured upon this expedition with few followers and little money; and his success, thus indifferently seconded, must appear surprising, until we consider the situation of the Peruvian affairs, in consequence of which a strong party was to join him in their own defence.

De Castro received Alvarado and Pedro de Holguin with great civility, confirming them in their former commands; but, to prevent all disputes that might arise from a division of the chief authority, as had been the case between Pizarro and Almagro, he assumed the title of captain-general himself, resolving to act in person every where, tho' he had not been bred in the field.

Perhaps no man ever behaved with a more even conduct; he never shewed his authority by oppression, nor strove to purchase friendship by flattery; to him both were equally odious: he determined with strict impartiality every cause that came under his inspection; nor did the party's being either Spanish or Indian procure the least distinction: to those who obeyed the emperor he behaved as a father; to the rebellious, as an expounder of the law, to the very letter of which he adhered; as a man he was compassionate; as a judge he was a stranger to pity. The people at first were astonished at his deportment; but a short time convinced them of his upright intention: and they were taught at length to revere what they had before dreaded.

Belalcazar came from his government of Popayan, to compliment him; most of the places that were not overawed by the presence of Almagro,

acknowledged his power; and Gonfalo Pizarro, being returned from his progress to the eastward, after having sustained considerable hardships, and lost near two thirds of his men, sent a deputation to him from Quito, whereby he submitted himself to his superiority, and offered to march with what men he could raise to his assistance; but De Castro, who always acted upon the principles of rectitude, sent him word, "That he accepted of his submission, and was satisfied of his fidelity to the emperor; that the hardships by him sustained in his late progress required some rest; on which account, the loyal party being already sufficiently strong, his presence was dispensed with, and he was at liberty to apply himself to the care of civil matters in Quito.

Young Almagro was, in the mean time, making what head he could against such formidable opposition; he was open, brave, and generous, but a little cruel; nature had blessed him with very great abilities, and they were tempered by the virtues of a proper education; but his youth lessened the influence which his merits ought to have commanded, by which means he was driven into many errors; the principal of which was, his permitting the armies of Alvarado and Holguin to unite, and not fixing upon any thing positively till it was almost too late to take any measures.

The death of De Reda, who was his general, and a man of experience as well as fidelity, contributed to disconcert him greatly; and his afterwards dividing the commission of general between Christopher de Sotolo and Garcia de Alvarado laid the foundation of his ruin.

Christopher and Garcia soon after quarreling about superiority, the former having condemned a soldier to be hanged for theft, was opposed by the latter, who thence taking occasion to differ with him,

warm words ensued, and Christopher was killed on the spot.

Almagro resented the assassination very highly, and Garcia fearing his revenge, resolved to be before hand with him, by murdering him at a feast which he feigned to prepare for his entertainment; but his intention, by some means getting wind, reached Almagro's ears, who pretending himself sick, staid at home; when Garcia fearing to lose so good an opportunity, went to him to endeavour to persuade him to come to it: at last Almagro, as if overcome by his persuasions, called for his cloke to go out; a concerted signal for notice had been given of Garcia's approach, and this was prepared for his reception; at which six men rushing in at once, seized and stabbed him in several places, while Almagro with his drawn sword ran him thro' the body; after which he made Balsa his general, and then resolved to march against the new governor.

Vaca de Castro encamped at Guamanga, about fifty leagues south-west of Cuzco, where, willing to spare the effusion of Christian blood, he endeavoured to persuade Almagro to lay down his arms, but the latter insisted upon enjoying his father's government unmolested, till the decision of the emperor should dispose of it, before whom his claim to it was at that time laid by Alvarado, and opposed by Ferdinand Pizarro.

But whilst these messages passed betwixt them, Almagro found that Vaco was under-hand endeavouring to seduce his people; for a Spaniard was discovered in his camp, disguised like an Indian, with letters to Pedro di Candia, Almagro's engineer, persuading him, by very advantageous offers, to render the artillery useless, in case the two armies should engage. This perfidy so incensed the

young general, that he ordered the spy to be instantly hanged up; and, tho' he seemed inclined to terms of accommodation before, he would now listen to none, except De Castro consented to banish Holguin, Alvarado, De la Vaga, and many other veterans, in whom the chief strength of his army consisted.

Neither side, after this period, entertained the least hopes of agreement, but both marched forward to engage in the valley of Chupas.

De Castro's army consisted of seven hundred Spaniards and many Indians; Almagro's of only five hundred Spaniards; but then the latter had the advantage of a rising-ground, on which his artillery being posted, commanded the whole plain: in order to avoid the effects of this disposition, Carvajal, De Castro's serjeant-major, found a way of approaching the enemy something nearer, under cover of a little hill; but, when that shelter failed them, they were laid quite open to the fire of the artillery, whose balls flew over their heads, doing no manner of execution: which Almagro observing, he advanced to Pedro de Candia, with fury in his eyes, and calling him traitor, struck him thro' with his spear; and instantly alighting, threw himself upon one of the cannon, bringing it with the weight of his body to bear upon the enemy, then ordered it to be fired; it swept down seventeen Spaniards, and was the first piece that did any execution.

But the heat of youth, and want of consideration, led him into a blunder that completed his overthrow, at a time when he seemed to bid fairest for success; for, as De Castro approached them, some of Almagro's people rashly pressed him to lead them forward to meet him, which request he consenting to, got between the enemy and his own artillery, by that means rendering it unserviceable.

This

This irretrievable mistake being observed by his serjeant-major Suarez, he told Almagro, “ That
 “ had he kept his post, as he advised him; De Cas-
 “ tro must have been inevitably ruined; but now,
 “ said he, it is plain you have thrown away the
 “ advantage fortune had given you, and I don’t
 “ chuse to share in a defeat arising from your
 “ misconduct;” with which words he rode off to
 De Castro’s army, not without several followers.

Holguin was killed at the beginning of the fight with a musket-ball; and Alonzo de Alvarado would have been certainly born down by Almagro, if De Castro, who had, by advice of his most experienced officers, kept aloof with a body of thirty men, to march down, in case of an exigency, had not relieved him: on this occasion he shewed he had a good genius for military as well as civil affairs; for never was succour more properly timed; it gave new vigour to his troops, who fought with redoubled valour, and soon drove the enemy from the field.

Almagro, who had behaved with great courage and resolution, finding his army entirely scattered, wandered away with only six horsemen, and took the road to Cuzco, where the very magistrates, whom he himself had invested with power, as soon as they heard of his discomfiture, seized and imprisoned his person.

The battle of Chupas was fought on the 16th day of September, 1542; five hundred Spaniards fell therein on both sides; the partizans of Almagro were entirely routed, and the chiefs of them taken prisoners. De Castro was not backward either in praising or rewarding the intrepid behaviour of his troops; he was careful of the wounded, and ordered the dead to decently interred.

He afterwards went to Cuzco, where a tribunal was erected for the trial of Almagro, who was tried, condemned, and executed for high-treason in the

beginning of 1543, and then interred in the same grave with his father, in much the same private manner.

Nor was his head alone thought sufficient atonement for his crimes; for most of his chief counsellors, but particularly those who had been concerned in the assassination of the marquis Pizarro, were formally tried and put to death, without favour or affection. By such proceedings, De Castro not only extinguished the rebellion, but eradicated the very seeds of it, while his upright intention and disinterested justice was universally acknowledged.

CHAP. IX.

De Castro's wife proceedings after the rebellion; he is superseded by Blasco Nunez, who bears the title of viceroy, and, acting very injudiciously, is opposed by Gonzalo Pizarro, whose authority has the sanction of the judges; the viceroy imprisoned, but escapes and suffers great hardships, and is at length killed in battle; the arrival of Pedro de la Gasca with the commission of president and very great authority; makes offers to Pizarro, in vain; Pizarro loses ground every where; however he fights with, and conquers Centeno.

DE Castro, having thus put an absolute end to the commotions that had so long disturbed Peru, now applied himself to the arts of peace.

He established courts of justice, wherein right was impartially protected; he strengthened the old, and encouraged the settlements of new colonies: he forwarded discoveries as much as in his power, and by so doing, rid himself of many clamorous and impertinent people.

The

The mines were worked, during his government, with great profit to the proprietors; and in all the great towns he erected public schools and colleges; at the same time appointing many learned men, conversant in the Indian language, to preach Christianity to the people, and was himself the converter of Paullu, the inca's brother, of whom we have often spoken heretofore, who was baptized by the name of Christopher; he was a man of excellent sense, and true to the Spanish interest, upon the nicest principles of honour.

De Castro also divided the lands into ecclesiastical jurisdictions, appointing bishops and subordinate ministers, for which he was vested both with the papal and imperial authority. In short, had the government continued in his hands, Peru had, in a very little time, been one of the best regulated kingdoms in the world, and more profitable to the Spanish crown than all its other dominions; but the cabals of the ministry, which could draw no advantage from a man whose conduct standing not in need of defence, neither courted nor bribed, dispersed the Halcyon calm; first by appointing certain judges, with very large authority, to take cognizance in public matters, who opposed the governor often, for opposition's sake; and afterwards by sending over Blasco Nunez, with the title of vice-roy, to supersede him, and enforce laws that were absolutely detrimental to the advantage and peace of the kingdom.

This new officer arrived at Lima, in the year 1544, and although the inhabitants unanimously offered to support De Castro in his administration, and to petition the emperor for his continuance, he would by no means avail himself of their friendship; but submitted to the authority of Nunez, who,

jealous of his great influence among the people, soon after made some pretence of putting him under an arrest, and proceeded otherwise in a manner so arbitrary and disagreeable, as to entail upon himself many enemies; who encouraged Gonzalo Pizarro to raise troops against him, promising to support him in the office of procurator-general, with a power to list men in defence of his person: the judges, whom we have just now mentioned, acknowledging his title in opposition to Nunez, and ordering matters so as that he was received as governor of Peru in the city of Cuzco.

Herrera and De la Vega give very different accounts of the administration of Nunez, but we shall rather chuse to adhere to the relations of the latter, as he seems to speak very coolly every where, and shews no rancor against any party, neither does he pretend to vindicate any ill action on either side; on the contrary, Herrera, tho' the whole, plainly manifests a fixed enmity to Pizarro's family; and what would induce us to credit La Vega still more, is, that he lived on the spot at the same time that the things happened, concerning which he writes.

So arbitrary and overbearing was the deportment of Nunez, that his forces every day fell off to Pizarro; and being a man of a warm temper, he ordered Suarez, who was one of his best friends, to be assassinated in his presence, because he suspected him of a design to desert; tho' he heartily repented of this rashness in a little time, being fully convinced of his fidelity.

Soon after this, the judges were obliged to take him into custody, and order him to be sent under a guard on board a ship, and in so doing they certainly acted judiciously, as this was the only way to preserve his life from the insults of the angry populace, and the revenge of Benito de Carvajal, brother to Suarez, who
had

had served under Gonzalo: Nunez was indeed sometime after set at liberty, and carried, at his own desire, to Truxillo, by Alvares, one of the judges who had been entrusted by his brethren to carry him to Spain, and lay his proceedings before the emperor. In the mean time Gonzalo, partly by fair and partly by foul means, got himself generally acknowledged as governor of Peru: but left the administration of civil affairs, very wisely to the judges, applying himself entirely to the care of regulating his army.

Having settled things in such a manner, that nobody seemed either willing or able to dispute his authority, he resolved on sending two of his partizans to Spain in the same ship with Vaco de Castro, to defend his proceedings; but De Castro fearing some ill usage from them, prevailed on the crew to quit the harbour and steer for Panama, before Pizarro's dispatches were ready.

This retreat incensed Pizarro extremely: he accused several people who had been very serviceable to him, of conniving at De Castro's escape; and not only arbitrarily imprisoned, but cruelly put many of them to death; and tho' he shifted the blame as much as he could upon Carvajal, yet, as he did not punish him in the least, this was looked on as a pretence.

In the mean time, the viceroy and judge Alvarez arrived at Tumbaz, where he published a manifesto, with an account of Pizarro's rebellion, requesting the assistance of all loyal subjects against him; and, in reality, displaying in these circumstances, much greater abilities than it was possible to have suspected him master of in prosperity; but the ill character he had before acquired, frightened even Pizarro's enemies from joining him; so that he was obliged to retire on the new governor's approach, who pursued and hunted

him over the rugged mountains of Quito, where he often experienced very great distress, being reduced to the necessity of feeding on horse-flesh, or such wild herbs and vegetables as the inhospitable soil afforded.

Nunez having evaded him thus for more than a year, during which time great cruelties were committed on each side, was at length betray'd into an engagement near Quito, on the 19th of January 1546, in which his party was totally routed, and himself, gallantly fighting, knocked down, his head being, by the revengeful Suarez's order, struck off and set upon a pole; an indignity which Pizarro repented extremely, ordering it to be taken down, as soon as ever he was informed of it, to be honourably interred with the body.

The accounts of these dangerous divisions gave great uneasiness to the court of Spain, and induced the emperor to send over Pedro de la Gasca, with the title of president of the royal court of Peru, and power equal to that of a sovereign prince; his instructions empowered him to make or to repeal laws, to pardon or punish treason, as he should judge best for the honour of God, and service of his prince. In short, he was permitted to exercise the same authority with respect to persons and things as if he was the king in person.

Pedro de la Gasca was a priest, and a brother of the inquisition, but a man of strict resolution, unshaken honesty, and unalterable courage, mild, affable, penetrating, and sagacious; besides, he acted entirely upon disinterested principles. His commission was dated at Vienna, in the beginning of the year 1546, and he arrived at Panama about the middle of July, in the same year, where he was received with great respect, his agreeable and judicious deportment procuring him many friends; and adding some considerable persons

sons to the royal party, among whom was Hinojoca, who commanded the fleet as admiral under Pizarro; but his revolt was, by agreement, to be kept a profound secret, till such time as it was known in what manner Pizarro would behave to the messenger, whom Gasca sent to him with one letter from the emperor, and another from himself.

These letters were carried by a person named Paniagua, whom Pizarro received very respectfully; submitting to an assembly of his principal officers his instructions, wherein, was offered a general amnesty to all who would acknowledge the president's authority, and a proper provision promised to be made for Pizarro and his family, in consideration of their services, without any remembrance of his rebellion. Carvajal declared very warmly for accepting these terms, and was joined by moderate people; but several persons who were of a stirring, uneasy disposition, prevailed with Pizarro to answer, by sending a short defence of his conduct, and requiring to be confirmed in the government of Peru; to which, as heir to his brother, who had conquered the country, as well as by precedent, in all cases of the like nature, he had an undoubted right.

Panigua had secret orders to grant this request to Pizarro, in case he found his party very strong; but having been privately visited by most of his principal people, who assured him that they would all join the royal standard, as soon as ever the president arrived in Peru, Paniagua suppressed these orders, seeing he might succeed without declaring them, tho' De la Vega informs us, he often afterwards repented that he had acted in this manner; and not without reason, as a great many lives might have been preserved.

About this time, the news of the defection of Hinojosa, and several other persons in whom he had reposed great confidence, reached Pizarro's ears; but what gave him most uneasiness was, the desertion of two of his people, whom he had sent with a defence of his conduct into Spain.

The city of Cuzco was soon after surprized by the following stratagem. Centeno, an officer who had fought very bravely under the viceroy Nunez, after whose defeat he took refuge in the mountains, once more made his appearance, declaring himself firmly attached to the emperor; and was joined by about eighty horsemen, with whom he determined to surprize that city, it being garrisoned by three hundred men, under the command of De Robles, a man faithful to the interest of Pizarro.

For this purpose, as soon as night fell, they ordered some Indians to drive their mules and other beasts of burthen with a great noise, and matches lighted at the pommel of each saddle, up a certain street; which alarmed the garrison, and the soldiers marched out to that quarter, wherein was the confusion; while Centeno and his people entered the town on the contrary side, attacked them in the rear, and put them in such disorder, that they immediately fled, leaving him in possession of it, and many of them, who owed no good will either to Pizarro or De Robles, returning to join him, on finding out what was the true state of the case, De Robles himself was made prisoner, being discovered to have taken refuge in a convent, and behaved so insolently to Centeno, that he ordered him to be beheaded.

The president was, by this time, arrived in the province of Quito, publishing every where a general amnesty, and a repeal of the laws that had been so irksome to the people; some of them having exempted, nay forbid, under severe penalties,

nalties, the Indians from working in the mines or fishing for pearl ; thus, by a mistaken clemency, preventing the getting that treasure which made Peru so valuable an acquisition ; also commanding that no Indian servant should be kept on any account whatever by any of the king's officers, and many of these poor people who had fallen into the hands of tender humane masters, lamented at being obliged to leave them, as if they had been torn from a parent's arms ; others of these laws appointing that the estates of all persons should, on their death, fall to the crown, at whose option it was to appoint a certain maintenance for their wives and children. There were several others, to the amount of forty four, equally impolitic, unwise, and destructive to the interest of the country.

Centeno's army was now encreased by reinforcements from Arequipa, La Plata, and other places, to above a thousand men ; and the president was daily growing stronger, so that he resolved to march towards Lima, which city had declared in his favour a day or two after Pizarro had left it, who, bent his course towards Arequipa ; but finding things go every where against him, and not being much above four hundred strong, when joined by Acosta with fifty horse, he turned off to the southward, intending to have established a colony on the east side of the mountains of Potosi, the silver mines of which had been just then discovered ; and in case of meeting with interruption there, his design was to have retreated farther south, and made a settlement in Chili.

But Centeno lying in the way, Pizarro having tried by fair means, to engage him on his side to no purpose, determined to force a passage thro' his camp ; on which Acosta made an attack the night before the battle, in hopes to have surprized Centeno ;

teno; but he was discovered, and retired without any loss.

Centeno's force consisting of between one thousand and twelve hundred men, and Pizarro's of not quite five hundred, on the 20th of October, 1547, both armies drew up in sight of each other: but the courage and conduct of Carvajal stood in the place of numbers; he gave orders that his people should not move from the post in which he had fixed them, but reserve their fire till the enemy were close upon them; he also armed every man with two muskets, for many who had deserted had left their arms behind them; and his orders were so well obeyed, that Centeno was entirely routed, tho' Pizarro's cavalry had at first been closely pushed, and he himself forced to take shelter with his infantry.

Centeno, who was carried to the field in a litter, was by the defeat entirely cured of his malady, and mounting a horse, endeavoured to persuade his people to rally, but in vain; that rash spirit that had spurred them on to battle, without waiting the command of the general, or keeping their ranks, was so totally changed into fear and confusion, that they paid no attention to his remonstrances, and he was obliged to march, by the privatest roads possible, almost in despair, to Lima.

C H A P. X.

Gonsalo enters Cuzco; the president is visited by Valdivia and many other officers; Pizarro ruins himself by rejecting Carvajal's advice, and is abandoned by all his people, on the meeting of both armies; surrenders himself, and behaves with great spirit before the president; he is condemned for rebelling against the emperor, and beheaded; many of his officers are put to death; the president perplexed about the division of the lands, retires to Spain.

Pizarro's troops, considerably reinforced by this victory, having been joined by numbers of the vanquished, marched to take possession of Cuzco, whence detached parties were sent out to scour the country, the commanders of which were guilty of many barbarities.

However, this defeat did not much affect the president's army, which encreased daily, Centeno having made a shift to come up with him, and he also being joined by Belalcazar and many other good officers, together with Pedro de Valdivia, with about twelve horse.

This last-mentioned gentleman had been appointed governor of Chili; but finding his force much too small to maintain him in his post, had taken shipping at St. Jago for Lima, with a considerable quantity of treasure, which he intended to have disposed of, in raising recruits: but, finding how things were situated on his arrival at Lima, he joined the president directly, who received this valuable second in the most respectful manner. His coming was undoubtedly a considerable advantage, for there was not a better soldier at that time in America; and such intrepidity and foresight

forefight as he possessed, were only fit to match with Carvajal.

Thus reinforced Gasca found himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, wherewith he resolved to march in search of Pizarro, who, flushed with success, was determined to meet him.

This resolution was quite contrary to the advice of the experienced Carvajal, who assured him that such a step would be their entire ruin; he wisely observing that the president's army was much superior to his; that he was certain too of his men's fidelity, whereas, Pizarro might be certain that three hundred men who had deserted from Centeno, after the last engagement, would, on the least appearance of advantage, return to their old master; he also made it evident, that the most judicious step he could take, would be to harass the president's army, by retiring before him to the southward, and distressing him by carrying off all the provisions in every place as he went; so that in following him, he must be certain to encounter many difficulties: and he promised to shew him a place out of which it would be impossible to force him, at the same time that he could awe the whole country, and starve his antagonist.

But Pizarro, who had some-ill grounded diffidence of Carvajal, as if bent upon his own ruin, was deaf to all his arguments; tho' the latter offered, with two hundred foot and fifty horse, to prevent the enemy from passing the river at Apurimac, nay undertook absolutely to rout them. His offer was slighted, and the command conferred upon Acosta, who, neither having sufficient foresight nor diligence, allowed the enemy to seize upon the pass, without any resistance.

On the top of a hill near Apurimac, was a spring of fresh water, the only one within many miles; near which it was Carvajal's scheme to have lain in
ambush,

ambush, and when the soldiers were running, without order, to drink, after crossing the river, which would certainly be the case, as there could be no suspicion of an enemy, then it was his design to have fallen suddenly upon, and drove them down to the river again, when their confusion and disorder would have completed their rout.

Had Pizarro complied with any of these directions, he had retrieved his own affairs, and destroyed all Gasca's designs: but they were given in vain; every opportunity of straitning the president was lost, and on the 9th of April, 1548, both armies were drawn up in battle-array, in sight of each other, and Carvajal observing the order of the president's forces, was heard to say, Valdivia must certainly be with Gasca, for no man in Peru could dispose of that army to such advantage but he.

The victory was not long in dispute, Pizarro's people going over in bodies to the enemy; Garcelasso de la Vega, father to the historian, was the first who shewed them the way; the whole right wing followed him, and several squadrons of horse went after, while Carvajal, who, disgusted at Pizarro's perverseness, had refused all command, and acted only as a private man, began to sing aloud some part of an old ballad, not ill adapted to the present circumstances.

The remainder of his men, seeing themselves thus abandoned, flung down their arms and fled; so that Pizarro was, in a very short time, left with only a few officers, and turning to Acosta said, calmly, "Well, brother John, what are we to do?" "Why, die like Romans," answered he. "No," replied Pizarro, "let us rather fall like Christians."

Having said thus, they moved on towards Gasca's army, where Pizarro surrendered himself to Pedro de Villavincencio, who thanked him for the honour

honour he had conferred on him by so doing, and with great politeness, refused to take his sword and dagger from him, which he offered, having no other arms; Centeno met him as he was going to appear before the president, and expressed great feeling at his circumstances; to which he cheerfully answered, "This day Centeno has completed my fall; to-morrow perhaps you yourselves will have reason to lament it."

He behaved before Gasca, who accused him of rebelling against the emperor, and murdering Nunez, with great firmness; he said he had not assumed the government till conferred upon him by the power of the judges, though it was his, in right of the commission granted by the emperor to his brother and his heirs; that Nunez had been killed in battle, and he had been forced to oppose him for the preservation of the public peace.

And in reply to the president's accusing him of ingratitude to the emperor who had raised him from nothing, he answered, that no body could deny his being a man of family, the constituents of which owed their elevation entirely to their own bravery; and had they erred in their conduct, which he denied, yet he imagined the services they had done the crown, should have pleaded in their behalf; he concluded with bidding the governor look round him: then, says he, "you will recollect that this whole country was annexed to the Spanish throne by the valour of my brother: I too contributed, and do I, who have been an assistant, and am the only representative of that brother, ask any thing unreasonable, when I insist upon being made its governor; I dare not tax the emperor with injustice, but I cannot help saying, if he saw my situation, if he was allowed to do it with
" impartial



Gonzalo Pizarro beheaded at Cuzco

J. Jefferys del.

“ impartial eyes, instead of consigning me to
 “ bondage, and branding me with the name of
 “ rebel, he would give me a still larger reward
 “ than that for which I have been forced to con-
 “ tend.”

This bold defence of himself was not pleasing to Gasca, who ordered him back into the custody of Centeno, by whom he was treated with the same respect as if he had been master of the greatest power.

Carvajal endeavouring to make his escape from the field, was taken by some people who saw him fall from his horse, endeavouring to cross a brook; and had not Valdivia and Centeno timely come up, the latter of whom took him under his care, he had been in danger of being very ill used.

The president soon after held a council of war upon his situation, in which, after much debate, Alonzo de Alvarado and Chianca were appointed to sit as judges upon Pizarro and his followers, it being thought the most judicious course to determine their fate as speedily as possible; lest any change in their favour should throw matters out of their present channel.

Accordingly Pizarro, old Carvajal, Acasto, and Guevara, were tried, convicted, and condemned to be hanged; a sentence which was executed instantaneously upon them all, except Pizarro, whose sentence was changed to decollation, in consideration of the noble title of his brother; in pursuance, to which on the following day he lost his head upon a block, in the forty-second year of his age.

Thus fell Gonzalo Pizarro, a man who certainly merited a better fate; and I must declare it my opinion, that he richly deserved the post, in struggling for which, he lost his life; as well from his family-pretensions as his own private virtues and
 his

his very great abilities. The houses of Pizarro both at Cuzco and Lima were razed to the ground, and the spots on which they stood sown with salt; a marble pillar was also erected, on which his crimes were inscribed, and his head, together with that of Carvajal, was set up in the marketplace of Lima: and several of his officers and adherents were publicly executed in many other places; after which sacrifices, the president having proclaimed a general pardon, retired to Cuzco, where he rested for some time, amidst the rejoicings of his followers. But even now, when he thought, by the suppression of the rebels, all his troubles were at an end, he found them only beginning; for when he came to distribute the lands, there was no such thing as satisfying the demands of the people in general, even the meanest soldier expecting to be made lord of a manor.

At length, wearied out with their solicitations, he resolved to escape from them at once; for which reason he privately withdrew to Lima, and thence made the best of his way to Panama, there intending to embark for Spain, and carrying with him near two millions for the emperor's use, and not a ducat for himself; so that, I fancy, it will be found very hard to match him and Vasco de Castro, both of whom acted upon principles very different from the bulk of mankind, promoting the welfare of the people, and improving the revenues of the crown, without any regard to their own private interest. It is to be remarked that they were neither courtiers nor noblemen.

At Panama, Gasca was very near losing all the treasure he had amassed for the emperor, together with his own life, by an unexpected insurrection, which he quelled by his valour and prudence. Then he embarked for Spain, at Nombre de
Dios,

Dios, in the year 1550, and the emperor was so well pleased with his conduct, that he gave him the bishopric of Sigüenza, a populous city in Old Castile, the income of which is reckoned at this day worth four hundred thousand ducats per year; in which place he died in 1567, and was buried in the parish-chappel of Magdalene of Valadolid, which he had built and endowed himself.

The



The VOYAGES of the several first AD-
VENTURERS, particularly of FERDI-
NAND DE SOTO, for the Discovery of
FLORIDA, 1539.

CHAP. I.

Florida discovered by Sebastian Cabot; John de Ponce's expedition thither with three ships; the reason of calling it Florida; Ponce's people attacked by the natives, and beaten in two places; his search after the fountain of health; Francis de Cordova's ill success here; Pamphilo de Narvaez comes hither with a large force; takes four prisoners, and procures provision; he proceeds in search of a supposed gold country; one of his men drowned; he arrives with his people at Apalachen, where he meets with some opposition.

FLORIDA, which is on the continent of America, was first discovered by Sebastian Cabot, about the beginning of the sixteenth century; but had no name; nor was it, among the various nations then daily found out, taken much notice of, till the expedition of John Ponce de Leon, who being superseded in his government of Porto Rico, where he had made a plentiful fortune, fitted out three ships well stored, and stoutly manned, with a view partly to profit, and partly to reputation, by making new discoveries.

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Having made a large circuit, and passed several points of land, he was tempted to come to anchor in sight of a country that presented the most alluring landscape he had ever seen; to which he gave the name of Florida, out of compliment to Easter, called by the Spaniards Pascua Florida, from its being the finest flower-season, he having discovered this territory on Easter-Sunday 1512.

Having coasted along a good while, in search of a convenient harbour, he went on shore April the 8th, in hopes to have made some acquaintance with the natives, several of whom were drawn up at a distance, watching an opportunity to drive the Spaniards from their boat; one of whom receiving a severe blow on the head, the fight became warm, and two others were dangerously wounded, tho' the natives received no damage. Leon, having with some pains, collected his men, and sailed to a river which they named Rio de la Cruz, or the river of the Holy Cross, he took in wood and water; but was severely handled by the Indians: so that he thought it would be vain to attempt making any settlement in this place, though, with half his compliment of men, a person of Cortes's abilities would have subdued the better part of America; and indeed nothing contributed more to his failure in an establishment at this place, than a ridiculous notion where-with he had been inspired, of there being somewhere, in that neighbourhood, a fountain endued with the virtues of Medea's kettle, in which an immersion restored decrepit old age to lusty youth; however, having mispent a great deal of time here, and among the Bahama Islands, in search of this ideal curiosity, he returned to Spain, where, making a great bustle about the merits of his expedition, he was generously rewarded by the court; tho' the only advantage that accrued

accrued from his industry, was discovering a short way thro' the bay of Mexico to Spain, without going round by the island of Cuba; the course of all ships before that time.

In 1517, Francis de Cordova put in upon this coast to wood and water, but several of his men were cut off by the inhabitants, and he himself was so dangerously wounded, that he died a few days after his return to Cuba.

Vasquez de Ayllon made an expedition thither sometime after, but his plan of operations was so badly laid, that the Indians cut off above two hundred of his men, and drove the rest off the coast; nay some have asserted that he himself was killed here, nor is it very unlikely, since we have no certain accounts of him after that time.

Pamphilo de Narvaez, of whose connexion with and confinement by Cortes, we have already spoken in the conquest of Mexico, being at length restored to his liberty, was the next who set out upon discoveries in Florida, carrying with him five ships, on board of which were six hundred men and eighty horse: the chief persons attending him, were Alvaro Pinez, commonly called Capo di Vava, in quality of treasurer, Agozino as a provost martial, Alonzo Euriquez as auditor, and Alonzo de Solis, factor for the king, together with father Giovanni, a franciscan, and four other friars of the same order.

After two or three very violent storms, wherein they lost above two hundred of their men and half their horses, they arrived on the coast of Florida, April the 12th 1528, and the auditor went ashore on a small island, the inhabitants of which gave him some deer skins and a few fishes: the day following, Narvaez took with him as many men as the boats could hold, and landed on the main land of Florida, at a little village, which was

abandoned by the natives; the houses hereof were of different sizes, some very small, and others large enough to contain more than three hundred people. He first took formal possession of the place for the king of Spain, dispatched the brigantine in search of a safe harbour for the ships, landed the remainder of his horses and then marched northward with forty foot and six horsemen. They made four Indians prisoners, when they had travelled about four leagues; who by signs promised to shew them where to get maiz, of which they had hitherto seen none; and accordingly they brought them to a village, in the neighbourhood of which there was maiz, but it was not yet ripe; and afterwards to another where there were some webs of cloth, and a small quantity of gold, which they gave them to understand they had from a country called Apalachen, lying to the north-west of them: a little farther on, they found a large field of maiz fit to be cut, and here they rested themselves two days.

It being now determined to march over land in search of Apalachen, from whence the gold they had seen was brought; Narvaez chose out three hundred men, forty of whom were mounted for this expedition; giving first to each man two pounds of biscuit, and half a pound of pork; on which they lived for fifteen days, meeting neither house, inhabitants, nor eatables, except dates, which were very acceptable. Their progress was now stopped by a river, which ran with excessive fury; however, they encamped upon the banks of it about a day, when its rage subsiding, they passed it upon rafts, not without great difficulty and peril. Here they found two hundred Indians drawn up armed, as it were to oppose them; whom convincing that their intentions were peaceable,

able, they were furnished with maiz, and then were directed onward to Apalachen.

June the 7th, they were met by a cacique covered with a painted deer skin, and riding on the neck of one of his servants; he was escorted by a body of musicians playing upon cane flutes, and spent above an hour with Pamphilo, in which time he endeavoured to tell him, that the people of Apalachen were his enemies; and presented him the deers skin that he wore, in return for some hawks bells, and other trifles given him by the Spaniards. After leaving him, they came to a river on which they did not dare to venture even with rafts; one of their men who, bolder than the rest, endeavoured to swim his horse over, being drowned, together with his beast, in their sight, they found the body of the horse, of which they made a very hearty supper, and then passed the river in a canoe made for that purpose.

Having surprized and seized four Indians to conduct them, they came in sight of Apalachen June the 26th, after traversing huge forests, where the trees grew so thick as scarcely to admit a passage, and mountains that seemed, with giant-like ambition, to reach at heaven: never was prospect more agreeable than that of Apalachen was to these people, whom hunger and fatigue had worn to skeletons; most of them being ready to faint under their arms, which had galled their shoulders, and were very uneasy to them.

The town of Apalachen was made up of forty low mud cabbins, situated on a sandy ground, and surrounded by groves of pine, cedar, elm, palm, and walnut trees; maiz they found here in plenty, and saw rabbits, bears, lions, &c. geese, ducks, black-birds, falcons of several sorts, and several other kinds of beasts and birds of prey.

The treasurer was sent with fifty foot and nine horse to reconnoitre the place, in which he found only women and children, with some deer skin, a few thread garments of little value, and some maiz, as also mills to grind it; the men were retired from the town in arms, and in a little time made an attack upon the Spaniards, who quickly repulsed them with the loss of one horse, which was shot thro' with arrows. However, they came shortly after in a very peaceable manner, entreating to have their wives and children restored to them, which request was immediately granted; but one of their caciques being detained by Narvaez, incensed them so much, they once more came down in a hostile manner, but were so vigorously received, that they soon fled with precipitation, and took shelter among the standing corn, leaving one man dead behind them.

The Spaniards rested here twenty five days, during which parties went out to view the country on all sides, and indeed it promised very indifferently, presenting to the eyes nothing but inaccessible mountains, craggy rocks, impenetrable forests, inhospitable desarts, and impassable lakes. This seemed to be the only inhabited spot in the whole country, and they understood as much from the cacique, whom they kept prisoner, he informing them, that a great way to the south was the sea, on the borders of which were a people called Aute; who were his friends, and had plenty of Indian corn.

C H A P. II.

They are disappointed of gold, and reduced to great distress ; at length they contrive five small vessels, and embark on the river Magdalena : they land on an island, when they are forced to a skirmish, and Narvaez is wounded ; he is afterwards supposed to be lost in a hard gale of wind ; but Alvaro gains land, and is tenderly used by the natives ; whom he is said to cure of sickness : a description and character of the people ; the Spaniards pass for children of the sun ; they meet with Christians, who use them ill.

THEIR expectations with respect to gold being not in the least answered, it was resolved to proceed for Aute, which they accordingly did ; and after a very troublesome journey, and being daily annoyed by the natives, they arrived there in nine days, but the people had burned their houses and were all fled ; however they found some maiz, gourds, and other vegetables, which gave them great refreshment.

The place not answering their wishes in any respect, it was determined to try to build themselves boats, and embark upon the river which they saw, and called Magdalena, it being very large, and they hoping that it might bring them back to that part of the coast of Florida which borders on the gulph of Mexico. For this purpose, they with great difficulty contrived five large barks, each twenty two cubits long ; one of their men, who had a ready invention, having erected a forge, and prepared a sort of bellows to blow it, with beasts skins and a pipe of wood, made a shift to form such iron-work as they wanted out of their cross-bows, spurs, some of their arms, &c. the chinks

were stoped up with palmeto leaves and bark, their rigging was twisted horse-hair, and their sails were their shirts; of the sabine-wood they made oars, and the gum that distilled from the pine-tree served them for pitch; from the legs of the dead horses they flayed the skin as entire as possible, and these sewed tightly were used to contain their water, instead of boracchios.

September the 22d, they embarked on board these vessels, and committed themselves to the mercy of the waves, not one of them knowing any thing of navigation; having lost in twenty days, forty men by sickness and fatigue, besides ten that were killed by the Indians, in sight of their comrades, who could not do any thing for their rescue; so very wretched was their plight. At the end of seven days, they discovered five canoes full of Indians, who ran ashore on an island, where Narvaez and his people followed them, and landing found some eggs and dried thornbacks, which were a welcome assistance. Leaving this island and taking the canoes with them, they sailed forward, till their water failing, they were reduced to extreme necessity, and were forced to drink the sea-water, whereby five of their men were killed; but perceiving some inhabitants on a point of land which they weathered, they ventured to go on shore, where they found little houses well built and lined with matting, and fresh water standing in pots at the doors, together with fish ready drest, on which they made a delicious meal: the cacique here treated them with great kindness; but at night the Indians fell upon them, carried away the cacique, who was rescued by his own people, and wounded Narvaez with a stone in the head.

After this adventure, they met with some Indians who offered to shew them fresh water, and leaving hostages,

hostages, took with them three Christians for that purpose, who were never after heard of; the hostages endeavouring privately to escape, and their brethren afterwards striving ineffectually to recover them by force; however, they at last came to a river, where, to their vast joy, they found the stream fresh, but there being no wood, they once more trusted to the current, each man being stinted to a handful of raw maiz a day.

They were now attacked by a violent storm, and their little fleet scattered, at which time it was imagined Pamphilo Narvaez was lost; he having never been heard of after. The boat in which was Alvaro Nunez was drove upon an island, where the inhabitants, who were of a gigantic stature, relieved and treated them with vast humanity; so that the Spaniards having recruited their strength, and made provision of fish, wood, water, and some vegetables, stripped themselves naked to launch their boat, which having done, put all their things on board, and lastly embarked themselves; a sudden wave turned her topsy-turvy, and three men whom she struck at the same time sunk to the bottom and were drowned: Alvaro and the rest made a shift to reach the land, but quite naked, having lost their cloaths and every necessary by that last accident; so that they were reduced to the extremest misery.

Their appearance was so wretched, that the Indians could scarcely know them again; but they soon brought them more provision, and sat down by them, lamenting their misfortune; after which they carried them on their shoulders to their places of residence, stopping very often by the way, to warm them at great fires, which they had prepared for that purpose at convenient distances: here they found the company of one of their barks, at which they were exceedingly rejoiced, and as she was in

good order prepared to trim for another voyage ; but, when they were upon the point of embarking, she was lost in a violent gale of wind : about this time their number was reduced from eighty to fifteen, so much were they diminished by famine and other hardships.

The men of this country make a hole quite thro' one of their paps, and some thro' both ; in which they carry a small piece of cane, about three spans long ; and they also hang another piece to their nether lip, which is likewise bored through. The women are hard drudges : they generally inhabit this island from October to the end of February, and their food is fish, and a certain pleasant root that grows about a foot under water ; after this, the roots beginning to fail, they remove their quarters elsewhere.

Alvaro staid with these humane people till they were about to pass over to the continent, when they took him and his followers with them ; because, say both Herrera and Ramusio, in their accounts of these matters, he had cured many of their sick by the sign of the cross ; and if this was the case, we must suppose the pagan Indians to have had more faith than the Christian Spaniards ; since with them it was much more efficacious : and yet it is certain, that Alvaro and two of his companions made oath, in the most solemn manner, at Michaels in the South Sea, that, during six years, in which they had travelled among the wild Indians, they were treated civilly on the account of the cures performed by them with the sign of the cross.

Alvaro and his two remaining companions were rewarded for the many cures they performed with a fruit, which serves the people principally for sustenance ; it is called tune, about the size of an egg, of a good taste, and the colour red and black intermixed ; which they not only eat fresh, squeez-
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ing out the liquor, which is an excellent drink, but also cut them open and string them, hanging them up to dry like figs.

The Spaniards gave this place the name of Mal Hado, or Ill Luck; the people, who are divided into many nations of different names, are very fond of their children, lamenting their loss when they die, for a year, in a very solemn melancholy manner; but they are very different with respect to the death of their aged, especially such as are past their labour, saying it was time that they should go, and not stay to devour the sustenance from strong young people who earned it, which they were unable to do.

Those that have children by their wives never forsake them; neither do they bed with them during the time they know them to be with child: if they chance to quarrel, they cudgel one another heartily; but never use their bows and arrows but against the common enemy, and even with them they fight no longer than while they have arrows to shoot with; when these are wasted, tho' they should have infinitely the advantage, they turn their backs, and walk off very quietly; nor are their wounds, tho' quite thro' the body, mortal; except in the heart or bowels. It is remarkable, they will touch nothing after a woman while under the menstrual evacuation; so that, during that time, she must eat by herself.

When Alvaro and his companions were about to quit the people, to whom these customs were familiar, they desired to be carried towards the place of the sun's setting; which was refused them, because it was affirmed, the regions lying that way were uninhabited; but, insisting upon it, and expressing some anger at being contradicted, the poor Indians, who feared that knowledge that had done such signal cures among them, might, if longer op-

posed, do them special harm, soon consented to their request, and offered to conduct them.

They passed thro' many different territories for upwards of five days, during which they had sometimes provision, sometimes none; feeding one day upon kine and venison, another upon powdered straw, till at length they came to a nation where the people appeared to be a little civilized; having good thatched houses, plenty of maiz, pulse, and gourds, with good skins, principally those of deer, bombasine, cotton, coral, torquoises, and emeralds shaped like arrow-heads; of all which the Spaniards partook.

Some way farther, they fell in with a tribe of people who were very brutal, and seemed to have but little understanding; however, they paid the Spaniards great respect, supposing them descended from heaven, because they resembled certain people, who, they said, had visited their land not long before, with horses, lances, and swords, whom they supposed to be children of the sun, and who went thence to sea.

Shortly after, they had more news of the Christians, who had driven the inhabitants of some places, where they chanced to come, up to the mountains, and behaved in a very cruel manner; and hence they judged that they were near the South-Sea; which opinion was confirmed by Diego de Acaraz, a Spaniard, whom they soon after met upon an excursion with some of his people, who told the Indians that guided them, that Alvaro and his companions were a mean, insignificant race of people, born to servility, and unworthy the attendance that was paid them: to which the simple Indians reasonably answered, that such a report was incredible, since they had great skill in curing the diseased, and delighted in doing good; besides which, they kept nothing for themselves, but generously

nerously divided with their followers whatever presents were made to them ; whereas, on the contrary, those who endeavoured to misrepresent them, in attempting to paint others, gave the colouring that distinguished themselves ; since, instead of saving people from death, they rejoiced in destroying them unprovoked ; that they used their attendants with great haughtiness and cruelty ; and avaritiously coveted every thing they saw, than which there could not be a stronger instance of meanness.

This was certainly arguing in the stile of good sense, and nettled Diego extremely, who revenged himself upon Alvaro, by leading him and his two companions into many inconveniencies, having persuaded him to dismiss his Indians, and trust himself for safe conduct to a Spanish settlement. To those, whom Diego's endeavouring to set the Indians against Alvaro may surprise, it is necessary to observe, that his sole reason for it was, his not being able to bear that other people should be treated with a deference and respect that he and his followers had been always strangers to : neither from their conduct did they deserve it.

However, Alvaro and his men made a shift to reach St. Michael's, where Nunez de Gusman the governor received them very tenderly, giving them good cloaths ; for they had gone for a great while naked, and after that he shipped them off for Mexico.

C H A P. III.

Ferdinand de Soto obtains leave to conquer Florida; is ennobled, and made governor of Cuba; his life, character, and juvenile adventures; he arrives in Florida with a great force; he has several skirmishes with the people; and by chance meets Ortiz, who had lived among the Indians many years; they come to the dominions of Paracossi, and from thence proceed to Cale, without being able to reconcile the natives cordially to them.

NEITHER the ill success of Narvaez, nor the hardships sustained by his followers, could deter Ferdinand de Soto from trying what advantages were to be drawn from an expedition to Florida; in support of which he entreated the protection of his catholic majesty, which was not only readily granted, but also a commission, appointing him governor of Cuba, (that being a convenient place of arms) and president of Florida, with the title and rank of a marquiss.

Ferdinand was a man of an aspiring genius, endowed with prudence and valour; he was son to a gentleman of Badajoz, and had raised himself by his sword; he first went to the Indies with governor Peter Arais D' Avila, and afterwards attended Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, where his military virtues were remarkable; and he was made lieutenant-general.

Having assembled about one thousand men, and ten sail of ships, he set out for Cuba, and arrived at the port of St. Jago, after a prosperous voyage. This island is two hundred leagues long from east to west, and between fourteen and fifteen from north to south: it has six principal towns, the largest being St. Jago and Havannah, which

which are well peopled, and drive a considerable trade; the houses are well-built, and the people rich; there is good pasture for horses, which thrive well here; also hogs and oxen; and green grass all the year: the soil is fertile, and bears figs, oranges, lemons, and several fruits well known in Europe, besides many that thrive only in the American climates; there is also plenty of gold to be found here.

Having made some necessary regulations in this place, he left the government to the care of his wife; and reembarked with nine hundred foot and upwards of three hundred horse, on the 12th of May, 1539; and on the 31st, anchored in the bay of the Holy Ghost, on the east side of the gulph of Mexico, in 27 degrees north latitude, landing about three hundred men and two hundred and thirty horses to lighten the ship, about two leagues from a town belonging to a cacique called Ucita; and encamped them on the sea-side, where next morning they sustained an attack from the Indians, which, as they were on their guard, they soon rendered ineffectual.

By degrees he brought all his men on shore, except the sailors, who in eight days piloted the ships up to the town; and Vasquez Porcallo going out to forage with seven men, was met by six Indians, who discharged their arrows at him: two of the Indians he killed, but the other four escaped, the men that pursued them falling with their horses in a bog.

The next day, the army, under the direction of Lewis de Moscoso, who acted as his major-general, marched into the town, where the governor already was; it consisted of about eight houses, the strongest of which, built on an eminence, was the residence of Ucita, who had retired to the hills, fearing a retaliation of the ill usage he had given

given to some of Narvaez's followers, who had fallen into his hands and been murdered. The houses were all made of timber, covered with palm-tree leaves; and in one of them were found some pearls, threaded like beads, but dulled with smoke; these the natives wear, by way of ornament, about their wrists and necks.

Gallegos was now sent out with forty horse and eighty foot to make some prisoners; and Lobillo being dispatched another way with fifty soldiers, soon returned, bringing with him four female captives, and six of his men wounded, one of whom died in a very little time; but, about two leagues from the town, the former met a party of Indians, armed with bows and arrows, marching in a regular peaceable manner, on whom his people would have fallen, without waiting any command, had they not retired swiftly to the neighbouring woods, when they saw the Spaniards advance upon them in a hostile manner; however, one man stood to receive them, to transfix whom, a person of the name of Nieto had already raised his lance, when he made the sign of the cross, and cried out in Spanish, "I am a Christian and a Spaniard; spare me, and recal my scattered friends, to whom I owe my life, and whose intentions are peaceable."

This address caused Gallegos to halt, who in this person, so little differing in appearance from the Indians, discovered one of Narvaez's followers, called John Ortiz; on which he restrained the ill-timed ardour of his people, and encouraging the scattered Indians to return, brought them all safely to the camp, to the great satisfaction of Soto, who was more particularly pleased with the acquisition of Ortiz, as in him he hoped to find an interpreter, who would be of special service to him in his future progress.

John Ortiz was of a good family in Seville; and, having followed the fortune of Narvaez, was by him dispatched from Florida, with letters to his wife then in Cuba; but, on his return, fell into the hands of the Indians, together with another Spaniard, whom they cut in pieces for making some sort of defence; but Ortiz was brought to the cacique Ucita, who at first ordered him to be suspended over a slow fire, and roasted alive; however, at the entreaty of his daughter, Ortiz was saved, and appointed to protect the dead bodies near the temple, from being carried away by the wolves, who were generally busy at night. He was very near losing his life; for, a wolf ran away with the child of an Indian chief, but was saved, upon its being found dead with a dart which Ortiz had struck into its body, and the child lying near it unhurt.

Some time after, Ucita being driven from this place by a neighbouring cacique, Ortiz lost both his post and favour; and it was already resolved to sacrifice him to the devil; when she, who had before saved him, not only informed him of the danger, but directed him how and whither to escape, conducting him a part of the way herself. He now fell into the hands of Mucozo, to whom he promised fidelity; and in return Mucozo assured him he would forward his return home as much as possible, and allow him, without any restriction, to join the first Christians he could hear of upon the coast; but this was an intelligence he now began to despair of, having been three years with Ucita, and nine years with Mucozo, who had treated him always with great hospitality, and now sent him with offers of peace and assistance to meet Soto, attended by some of his principal people.

The governor used those persons who came with Ortiz very humanely, entreating them to assure their
cacique,

cacique, that his kindness to this Christian should never be forgot, but repaid in the most grateful manner; and then he dismissed them, having been by them informed of a territory, thirty leagues farther, belonging to a cacique called Paracossi, to whom Ucita and Mocozo paid tribute, and whose possessions were richer than any near the sea-side. He was shortly after visited by Mucozo in person, whom he received with great affability, and found him not only a man of good sense, but also seemingly one who meant what he said; a character not common among the Americans, nor indeed can we boast much of this sincerity among the more civilized Europeans.

Not long after this interview, Soto, in imitation of Cortes's conduct, in circumstances not very different, sent his ships, three or four coasting vessels excepted, back to Cuba, with orders however to some of them to return at a certain time with provisions: in one of them went Porcallo de Figuera, who for some time had had a difference with the governor, and was moreover discontented at finding so many morasses, and thick impenetrable woods, without a prospect of treasure to pay their toil, or Indians of whom to make slaves, which were much wanted in the mines of Cuba, and to search for which was his principal inducement to this expedition, wherein he had a principal command.

Though Soto behaved towards such of the natives as fell in his way with great mildness, and took all possible care to prevent irregularities, they used such Spaniards as they met with very indifferently; and having surprized a party that were foraging, they took one prisoner, whom they stripped naked; and when they thought themselves out of danger, they sat down to eat, drink, and be merry with their wives; whom they left, together with their captive, in the hands of some Spaniards
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that pursued them; the women were all brought to Soto, who used them civilly, and then dismissed them.

Gallegos being sent forward towards the dominions of Paracossi, found it all the way a plentiful country, abounding with vines, walnuts, pine, plum, oak, mulberry, &c.; besides receiving intelligence of people, at a place called Cale, who had plenty of provision, and much gold, of which they made shields and head-pieces in their wars; of all these things he sent word to the governor, who prepared to follow him, leaving the care of the shipping, with forty horse, to Calderon, whom while he recommended to Mucozo, he strictly charged to avoid offending the natives on any account.

In the mean time Gallegos had solicited a conference with Paracossi to no purpose; for he sent thirty of his people with very frivolous excuses, whom therefore Gallegos detained; and being now joined by Soto and all his men, they set forward towards Cale, the governor himself leading an advanced party of thirty horse and seventy foot: having passed thro' a town that was forsaken by the inhabitants, they came to a river where the current was very strong, carrying away one of their horses; however, the rest were brought over by means of a hauser, and the men passed upon a bridge of old trees that lay contiguous to the water. In this march the Spaniards suffered a good deal; for the country being deserted, they found no sustenance, except beet roots, which they ate with salt and water; and the young maiz stocks, the maiz being not ripe as yet, and the provisions they had brought with them having been soon consumed.

At Cale they found maiz enough to serve them for three months, but every man was obliged to pound

pound his own proportion in a wooden mortar, and sift the flour thro' their shirts of mail, which was so very troublesome, that some chose rather to eat it parched; nay, not eat it till compelled by necessity. The Indians had abandoned this town on the approach of the Spaniards, but kept lurking about a neighbouring lake, whence they made a sally, and killed three of Soto's followers, as they were gathering maiz.

C H A P. IV.

They make twenty eight prisoners, the principal of whom endeavours to trick them and escape, but is caught in his flight by a blood-hound; they enter a territory belonging to three brothers; one of whom continues their violent enemy; who lays a trap for the destruction of all the Spaniards, but is caught in it himself: a great instance of Indian perseverance and resolution, as well as Spanish generosity; which is but ill requited.

AUGUST the 11th, 1539, Soto left Cale; and being attacked the same day by a party of Indians, put them to flight, making twenty eight prisoners: soon after this engagement, a person who pretended to be a cacique, came and entreated their liberty, promising in return a good quantity of provision, and a guide for the army; the governor granted his request, but however kept him in safe custody till he should fulfil his agreement: in order to which, he desired to be conducted within hearing of a party of Indians that skirted a neighbouring wood; but he broke from his keepers as soon as he came in sight of them, and ran so swiftly, that it was impossible for a Christian to pretend to pursue him; whereupon Soto, who
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was a witness of his flight, ordered a hound that had been fleshed to be set after him, which passing many other Indians, seized the fugitive by the haunch, and held him till the captors came up, a circumstance which frightened him so excessively, that they not only were supplied with provision, but their guide also conducted them thro' a better road than any they had passed for some time.

In their march, however, they were often assailed by the natives, whom they still repulsed with loss; and having passed a morass, not without some difficulty, they entered the province of Acuera, where they rested twenty days, not without being often alarmed by the natives; thence Soto proceeded to Occali, where he was met by the cacique, whom he received with great affability; and having got other guides from him, marched on towards Vitacucho, a province about fifty leagues in extent, under the government of three brothers, one of whom took to arms on the approach of Soto, refusing all terms of peace, until some prisoners being taken, were released upon promising to carry a polite message from the Spaniards to him, which they did; and in consequence of it, he not only came to their camp, but also sent his brothers word of their civil behaviour, and kept them company some time.

Upon his brother's representations, the youngest of the three entered into alliance with Soto; but the eldest, who was known by the name of the country, Vitacucho, detained all the messengers, except one, by whom he reproached his brothers for what they had done; and also sent word to the Spaniards, that if they offered to enter his territories, he would put them to the cruellest tortures that could be devised. To this menace Soto sent back such an answer as spoke his contempt of it, and at the same time gave the angry cacique such
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an idea of his resolution, and the courage of his followers, that he came in a peaceable manner, gallantly attended, to the Spanish quarters, where having apologized for his indiscretion, he promised for the future his friendship; and was dismissed not a little pleased with his genteel reception.

But his submission was barely external; for in the mean time he meditated the destruction of the Spaniards; and selected ten thousand men, with which to cut them off the first favourable opportunity: however, having entrusted Soto's four interpreters with his design, they applauded and encouraged him to put it in execution; but revealed it to John Ortiz, who communicated it to the governor, by whom he was ordered to keep it secret; at the same time that he made use of proper precautions to behave with the same freedom as usual, and not give Vitacucho the smallest room to imagine that he was discovered.

When the plot was ripe for execution, the Indians were drawn out very gayly trimmed, to the number of ten thousand, upon a neighbouring plain, with a wood on their left, and a lake on their right hand; every one having his arrows covered with grass lying before him, which they were to seize upon the word being given. Hither Vitacucho invited the governor, as he said, to shew him the manner in which his people exercised; the invitation was complied with, and in return, as the greatest compliment that could be paid to a prince, the Spaniards were ordered to march the same day in order of battle; with which the cacique, whom, to prevent all suspicion, Soto accompanied on foot, having his armour privately under his coat, was well pleased, as by that means, he imagined, he should have them all at once in the toil.

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When the two leaders came to a particular spot, a musket, being the signal appointed for that purpose, was fired; on which Soto threw off his upper garment, seized Vitacucho, and delivered him to some of his people, then mounting his horse headed his cavalry, which advanced quick, and bearing down upon the main body of the Indians, made a vast slaughter of them, soon putting them to the rout, some sheltering themselves in the covert of the wood, and others leaping into the lake.

The Spaniards killed numbers of them as they fled, and the muskets and cross-bows were turned against them who had taken the water, in order to compel them to surrender; but, being excellent swimmers, they discharged their arrows as long as ever they lasted, mounting upon each others backs to take the surer aim, whereby many of them were more fairly laid open to the cross-bows and musket-balls. Being at length exhausted of weapons, they kept the middle of the lake, which was but small, hoping thereby to escape, but their strength at last failing them, several of them came to land and surrendered, whom the Spaniards helped out, and protected from harm, after they had remained above twenty hours in the water; however, seven remained there still, who seemed determined rather to perish than submit; but at last, twelve Spaniards, who were excellent swimmers, and men of great strength and activity, flung themselves in, with their swords in their mouths, and catching them by the hair of their heads just as they were sinking, brought them to land.

Being examined by the governor, with regard to their obstinately persisting in their own destruction, the principal of them answered, that having been entrusted with command, they thought they had no better way of convincing the cacique, that their defeat was owing neither to want of cou-

rage nor fidelity, but purely to ill fortune, than by dying with their honour. The governor, who was a man of courage himself, and prized it very highly in others, treated them with great courtesy; and when they were refreshed, and had gathered, thro' his care of them, sufficient strength after their fatigue, dismissed them with presents of looking-glasses and other trifles, that pleased them extremely, as being young men, and three of them not more than eighteen years old each; but first, to the other four, who were much older, and principal officers, he declared, in the presence of their cacique, that they merited death for their treacherous designs; but to convince them of the difference between their dispositions and those of Christians, he forgave them, hoping that by this example they would deport themselves more honourably for the future.

Soto, who had great humanity about him, now endeavoured by mildness and affability to secure the fidelity of the Indians, not allowing any of his followers to chain their prisoners, or put them to any very toilsome work; setting the cacique constantly at his own table, and allowing him the whole town to range thro': this usage he certainly was far from deserving; for he set on foot, and vigorously abetted another conspiracy against the Spaniards, the consequences of which were near being fatal to Soto and all his people; so true is the observation, that there are some people in whose nature vice is so firmly ingrafted, as was treachery in Vitacucho, that it can only be eradicated with life; and the experience of this, certainly, gives a sanction to the severity of many proceedings, which might otherwise be interpreted into cruelty.

On the seventh day after the battle, Vitacucho, being as usual at dinner with Soto, started up suddenly

suddenly, and gave a loud cry; at the same time struck the governor with his clenched fist, and then seizing him by the throat, attempted to strangle him, after which he fell with him to the ground; but was soon killed by some Spanish officers, and the governor set at liberty: at the very same instant, every other Indian fell upon the person to whose service he was assigned, with whatever weapon was next to hand, such as pots, fire-brands, logs of wood, &c. nor was it without great difficulty they were quelled; most of them being at length cut to pieces, and the remainder tied to stakes, and shot to death by the Indians of Paracossi, who had been for some time at liberty, and served the Spaniards very faithfully.

Vitacucho's brothers still persisting in their disposition to peace, the governor abandoned their dominions, and took a north-west rout towards Apalachen, a province of which he had heard some good accounts, where he arrived without any material accident in a very short time; here he found that Capaci, the cacique, had retired from the city, and fortified himself in a wood about eight leagues distant. Thither Soto marched, attacked him in his entrenchments; and, after a very desperate resistance, took him prisoner, being a very infirm man, and carried in a litter, putting his army entirely to the rout. But the Indians often afterwards infesting his camp, surprizing his people in small parties, and proving otherwise very troublesome, the cacique promised to prevent these alarms, provided he was allowed to go among them a little way into the country; which was accordingly granted, he being sent under a guard, who being not so careful of him as they should have been, he made his escape upon all-four, and was carried off unknown to his keepers by some of his people. The
Spaniards

